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L. MARIA CHILD, Editor. | Without Concealment----Without Compromise. | DAVID LEE CHILD, Assistant Editor.

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Selections.

FORMATION OF THE NORTHERN NEW-YORK ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Tuesday, February 8, 1843.

Convened, agreeable to previous notice, at the Congregational church, in Keeseville. Convention called to order by S. Keese, and prayer by Rev. J. Mattocks.

On motion, Samuel Keese was appointed president of the convention, and J. H. Barker, secretary.

On motion, Thomas B. Watson, J. H. Barker, and S. A. Wilkins, were appointed a business committee.

After remarks by Messrs. Ashman, Watson, and Mattocks, and others, on the importance of forming such a society as the one proposed by the call, the convention adjourned to half-past one o'clock, P. M.

At the formation of the Northern New-York Anti-Slavery Society, the following proceedings were had:

Afternoon Session.

The committee on business reported a preamble and constitution; and after considerable discussion, the following was adopted:

Whereas, we are fully convinced of the truths embodied in the declaration made to the American people by the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its formation, in Philadelphia, December 4th, 1833; therefore,

Resolved, That the said declaration be adopted, and a society formed, under the following Constitution:

Article I. This society shall be called the "Northern New-York Anti-Slavery Society," auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Art. II. The object of the society shall be the immediate abolition of slavery in the United States, by peaceful and constitutional means.

Art. III. The officers of this society shall be a president, secretary, treasurer, and an executive committee, of three—all to be elected annually. The executive committee shall have a general supervision over the affairs of the society; disposition of funds; arranging for, and calling meetings, &c. when not directed by the society.

Art. IV. The annual meeting shall be held the first Tuesday in February, of each year, when the executive committee are expected to make a report, in writing.

Art. V. Any person who consents to the principles of our declaration, and is a resident of either of the four counties named in the call, may be a member, and entitled to vote at its meetings.

Art. VI. This constitution may be altered, or amended, by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, at any annual meeting.

On motion, Samuel Keese was appointed a delegate to attend the annual meeting of the American Society.

On motion, the committee on business was called upon to report a list of officers for the year; whereupon they reported the following, who were appointed:

President—Samuel Keese.
Secretary—James W. Flack.
Treasurer—Anderson Keese.
Executive Committee—John H. Barker, Rev. Merit Bates.

On motion, the convention then adjourned, to meet at the call of the executive committee.

J. H. BARKER, *Secretary.*

FIRST ANNIVERSARY.

Proceedings of the Northern New-York Anti-Slavery Society, at Keeseville, on the 31st of January, and by adjournment, at Clintonville, Plattsburgh, and Peru Village, on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of February, 1843.

The society met at Keeseville, at 10 o'clock, A. M. on the 31st of January. Samuel Keese, the president, called the meeting to order. After a period of silence, to give opportunity for seeking divine assistance, Dr. Wm. Warren was chosen secretary for the day, the secretary of this society being absent.

A committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, was then chosen.

C. C. Burleigh, O. B. Ashman, Calvin Cook, Oliver Keese, and Alva Arnold, were appointed a business committee.

C. C. Burleigh then introduced the resolution No. 1, [see resolutions below,] and spoke in its support until time for adjournment. Adjourned to 2 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.

Met according to adjournment. The committee on the nomination of officers for the society, reported as follows:

President—Samuel Keese.
Secretary—Wm. M. Brigham.
Treasurer—Anderson Keese.
Executive Committee—Jacob Blaisdell, John H. Barker, Stephen R. Smith, O. B. Ashman, and William W. Kingsland.

The business committee reported several resolutions, and the following series of propositions, which had been laid before them by persons opposed to the anti-slavery enterprise, with a request that it might be presented to the society:

Treaties and constitutions, and all compacts, must be practised under as was the intention of the makers.

Our well being depends upon the perpetuity of the Union.

The perpetuation of the Union depends upon peace within our borders.

Peace depends upon the strict observance of all the compromises of the Constitution on which the Union is founded.

All the attempts, by the people of one State, to render odious the institutions of another State, are wrong, because they are in violation of the spirit and faith on which the Union is founded.

On motion of C. C. Burleigh, these propositions were taken up for consideration; amendments were proposed to them; and their author, or any other person willing to do so, was urgently invited to appear in their defense. No person appearing, they were, with the amendments, on motion of C. C. Burleigh, laid on the table, to be taken up at the opening of the evening session, and the invitation to any who might wish to defend them, was extended that time; and all present were requested to give information through the village to that effect.

The second and third resolutions were then taken up successively; and after remarks by C. C. Burleigh, and O. B. Ashman, were unanimously adopted.

The sixteenth resolution was then taken up, discussed, and adopted, without dissent; after which, the society adjourned to half-past 6, in the evening.

Evening Session.

Met according to adjournment. The propositions laid on the table in the afternoon, were taken up for consideration, and the invitation to any willing to defend them, was earnestly repeated. None accepting it, C. C. Burleigh took the floor, and saying that he would yield it any moment, whenever any one of opposite views would express a wish to take it, went on to speak against the propositions, in their original form, and in favor of the amendments. After a pause, at the close of his remarks, to give opportunity for a reply, none being offered, the question was put, and the propositions, as amended, [see No. 9, below,] were unanimously adopted.

The tenth and eleventh resolutions were then called up and commented upon at length by C. C. Burleigh, and briefly by John Orvis, when they were laid over for to-morrow.

The delegate from this society to the last anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, reported that he attended, and pledged to that society $100 for the current year. Pledges were then taken of individuals, to the amount of $50. C. C. Burleigh commenting, in the meantime, upon the rigid economy and self-sacrificing spirit of the managers and agents of the American Society; that a great impulse had been given to our enterprise, the past summer, in Western New-York, by the agents of that society, and but little money expended.

On motion, it was voted that Zeno Taber, and Dr. Wm. Warren, be a committee to extend subscriptions for the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

The society then adjourned, to meet at Clintonville, at 10 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

Morning Session, February 1.

Met according to adjournment. The president in the chair. Joseph Walpole was chosen secretary *pro tem.*

The tenth resolution was taken up, and ably sustained by C. C. Burleigh, until the meeting adjourned, to meet at 2 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.

Met pursuant to adjournment. On motion, it was voted that a committee be appointed to solicit subscribers to the National Anti-Slavery Standard; and that John E. Miller, Rev. Mr. Dunn, and Joseph Walpole, of Clintonville; James W. Flack, of Ausable Forks, and John Bennet, jr. of Jay, be said committee.

The tenth and eleventh resolutions were again taken up, briefly and lucidly sustained by John Orvis, and ably supported by Mr. Burleigh, in a speech of impregnable logic and masterly eloquence; when the question was taken on both resolutions, and passed, unanimously.

The fourth resolution was next commented upon, and adopted.

The resolution of thanks to Mr. Slade, [No. 17, below,] was then presented; and after brief remarks from two or three speakers, adopted.

Adjourned to half-past 6, in the evening.

Evening Session.

Met agreeable to adjournment. The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth resolutions were taken up, appropriately sustained by able and convincing arguments, from Mr. Burleigh, and adopted.

Adjourned, to meet to-morrow morning, at 10 o'clock, at the court house, in Plattsburgh.

Morning Session, February 2.

Met pursuant to adjournment. The president being in the chair, on motion, E. Moore, was appointed secretary *pro tem.*

The constitution of the society, and the proceedings of the former meeting, were then read, when, after brief remarks from Mr. Burleigh, on the fifth and twelfth resolutions, the meeting adjourned to 2 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.

The twelfth resolution was again taken up, and fully sustained by Mr. Burleigh, and then adopted. The fifth resolution was then read; and after a few remarks, was laid on the table, to be taken up again at the evening session.

The sixteenth resolution was next reconsidered; and after remarks from Mr. Beckwith, and others, was readopted, unanimously.

Adjourned to 6 o'clock, in the evening.

Evening Session.

Met agreeable to adjournment. Remarks were made by the president, on the universal and impartial character of the anti-slavery platform; that every human being setting foot upon it in testimony against slavery, was entitled to the free exercise of conscience, whatever be his religious or political principles. That therefore no prohibitory restrictions, or coercive requisitions, will be entertained; and consequently, all religious performances and observances will be left to individual responsibility; and in carrying out these principles, the president will call for no oral prayers, neither has he a *right* or a desire to *object* to them.

After which, prayer was offered by Elder Clark.

Nearly the whole of the remainder of the afternoon session was occupied by Mr. Burleigh, with an argument in support of the fifth resolution, upon the illegality of slavery; in which were displayed such *readiness of thought*, and *force of application*—such *cogency* of *reasoning*, and happiness of illustration—such correctness of position, and amplification of proof, as, clothed in the sublimest language and masterly eloquence, inspired with admiration the honorables, the esquires, the M. D's. and D. D's. and wrought conviction in many honest minds, as was shown by one simultaneous AYE! on the adoption of the resolution.

On motion, J. B. McCrea, (barber,) Edward Moore, (merchant,) Stephen Wing, (farmer,) of Plattsburgh; O. B. Ashman, of Champlain, and H. J. Sterns, of Beekmantown, were appointed a committee to solicit subscribers to the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Adjourned, to meet at Peru Village, to-morrow, at 2 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session, February 3.

Met agreeable to adjournment. The president in the chair. T. B. Watson, secretary *pro tem.*

After a short silence, the fifth resolution was presented by Mr. Burleigh, for reconsideration; which, after a brief recapitulation of the views taken, passed unanimously.

Resolutions six and seven were also discussed, and adopted, without dissent.

Resolution the eighth read and remarked upon by Mr. Burleigh, and the meeting adjourned to half-past 6 o'clock, in the evening.

Evening Session.

Met pursuant to adjournment. Prayer by Stephen Cook.

The eighth resolution was ably sustained by Mr. Burleigh, in an eloquent speech of one hour in length, and heartily adopted.

Resolution number eight was sustained, and passed, with but two dissenting voices.

On motion, it was voted that S. K. Smith, John T. Keese, Richard Lapham, and Julia Ann Rice, be a committee to extend the circulation of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

The nineteenth resolution being moved and adopted, the meeting adjourned, *sine die.*

SAMUEL KEESE, *President.*
WM. M. BRIGHAM, *Secretary.*

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That the efforts of northern abolitionists are not, as some alledge, an "unwarrantable interference" with the rights of others, or an "impertinent intermeddling" with the "peculiar institution" of the South; but, on the contrary, have for their object, to put an end, by rightful means, to a wrongful interference, by the slaveholders, with the rights of southern slaves and northern freemen, and by the North with the system of slavery.

2. Resolved, That slavery is not an exclusively southern institution; but by reason of the connection of the North with it, is an *American* system, sustained by the united power, affecting the common interests, and implicating the character of the whole country, and properly open to investigation and reprobation by every citizen of any part of the Union.

3. Resolved, That the present connection of the North with slavery, ought to be dissolved; and to that end, everything in the federal Constitution, or in the enactments of the national legislature, or of that of any northern State, giving the slightest countenance to the slaveholder's claim of property in man, or the least aid to the assertion of that claim, ought to be amended and repealed.

4. Resolved, That inasmuch as slaveholding is contrary to God's law, and as the law is above all human enactments, and nothing in them contrary to it ought to be obeyed, it is therefore the duty of every man to refuse obedience to every provision of Constitution or statute which requires him to assist, in any way, in the holding of slaves.

5. Resolved, That no man was ever made a slave by law, or held in slavery by law, in the proper sense of that term; and that it is absolutely impossible to make slavery a legal institution, to create a legal obligation, on the part of a slave, to submit to enslavement, or a legal right, on the part of the slaveholder, to hold any man in slavery.

6. Resolved, That every provision of Constitution or statute, which has for its object to sanction or aid, in any degree, the holding of slaves, is, on *legal* as well as on moral and religious principles, absolutely null and void; and to obey it, is as unlawful as it is immoral.

7. Resolved, therefore, That all holders of slaves, and all who in any way help to hold them, or to retake and re-enslave them, when escaping from bondage, act not only immorally but illegally.

8. Resolved, That while we deem it highly important that all unjust or illegal provisions of the Constitution and statute should be abolished, we consider it vastly more important that such a public sentiment should be formed as will demand, ensure, and sustain a right interpretation of the law as it now is; knowing, as we do, moreover, that such a public sentiment will secure both objects at once, while the mere repeal of unrighteous statutes can afford no positively certain assurance that the righteous law can be practically sustained

9. Treaties, and constitutions, and all compacts, must be practised under, as was the intention of the makers, when, and only when, they are in accordance with morality and justice. When they are not so, they ought to be abolished, without delay.

However much our well being may depend upon the perpetuity of the Union, it depends immeasurably more on the conformity of our institutions, customs, and statutes to the law of God.

The perpetuation of the Union depends upon the preservation of peace, and the prevalence of righteousness, within our borders.

Peace depends upon the strict observance of all the just compromises of the Constitution on which the Union is founded, and the faithful, practical carrying out of the principles on which the government is based.

All attempts, by the people of one State, to sustain what is odious and unjust in the institutions of another State, are wrong, because they are a violation of the principles, religious and political, on which the Union is avowedly founded, and of the law of God.

10. Resolved, That as slavery is at open war with the foundation principles of Christianity, it is the clear duty of every professed Christian to enlist earnestly in efforts for its overthrow.

11. Resolved, That the professed Christian, or teacher of Christianity, who holds slaves, or apologizes for slavery, or refuses to bear his testimony against it, fails of his duty as a man and a Christian, is false to his professions, dishonors the cause of Christ, is a serious hindrance to the progress of emancipation, and to the spread of pure Christianity, and deserves the plain and faithful rebukes of every friend of humanity and justice.

12. Resolved, That among the reasons which should influence the professing Christians of the North to engage with zeal and energy in the anti-slavery enterprise, not the least weighty is the impossibility, while slavery exists, of obeying the parting mandate of Jesus to his disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

13. Resolved, That every whig and every democrat is bound, in consistency with his professed principles, to be an active and uncompromising abolitionist.

14. Resolved, That the object of the anti-slavery enterprise is to finish the work which the patriots of '76 begun, but left incomplete; and that those who do not embrace the principles of this enterprise, act in accordance with them, and assist in promoting their prevalence throughout the land, show that they have neither correctly apprehended nor justly appreciated the purpose and character of the American revolution.

15. Resolved, That not only on the ground of moral and religious principle, and of consistency with our republican and Christian professions, but on that of mere pecuniary interest, also, the people of the North have abundant reason to engage in efforts for the abolition of slavery.

16. Resolved, That if the citizens of the Empire State sustain Governor Bouck, in his opposition to the law extending the right of trial by jury to fugitive slaves, and in yielding the question in controversy between this State and Virginia, they will take a retrograde step in the march of humanity and civilization.

17. Resolved, That the thanks of this society be presented to William Slade, for moving the suspension of the 21st rule of the House of Representatives in Congress, for the purpose of allowing him to present a bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

18. Resolved, That inasmuch as the slaveholder derives from the price paid him for the products of the slave's unpaid labor, both the means and the inducement to keep up his system, consistency manifestly requires of abolitionists to abstain, as far as may be, from the purchase and use of such products.

19. Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the president and secretary, and published in the papers of Essex, Franklin, and Clinton counties, and in the National Anti-Slavery Standard; and that the papers of the counties named be requested to publish, with these proceedings, the call for the meeting which formed this society, and the declaration of sentiments and constitution adopted at that meeting.

From the Liberator.

LETTERS FROM DAVID L. CHILD.

WASHINGTON, February 11, 1843.

Self-examination is one of the hardest, as it is one of the most important duties which a man has to perform. Errors and vices in the thoughts and conduct of individuals, are strengthened by the sympathy and common interest of a band, and much more of a nation. Self-examination, in these cases, becomes proportionably difficult. Hence, a candid acknowledgment of wrong, rare with individuals, with nations is unknown. This shows how barbarous is our civilization, and how near our contests, though excelling in cunning, approximate in spirit to the blind rage of the brute creation.

I have had occasion to mention the claims of a large number of American citizens upon our own government and people for spoliations committed by France, on the high seas; and I have alluded to that combination or conspiracy of southern slaveholders and northern slave-democrats, by reason of which the payment of those claims has been refused and delayed for forty years, and discussion, for the most part, suppressed. My sympathy with innocent and meritorious sufferers, and my indignation at deliberate and flagrant injustice, will not permit me to pass by the subject without a new, however unavailing, effort to arouse the attention of the thousands of just persons, who read and "inwardly digest" the matter contained in the Liberator. I thank God that there is such a set of men and women, so ready to discern, so resolute to right what is wrong, to whom I can address myself.

The subject of these claims goes deep into our history; and in order to make my statement satisfactory to every inquiring mind, it will be necessary to refer to some prominent events of the revolution, and of the subsequent period.

Every child in the country knows that we received important aid from France, for which we always professed to be very grateful. Some of this was gratuitous, extended at an early stage of the war, and without the obligation of any compact; but most of it was the consequence of a treaty of alliance, concluded February 6, 1778, of which the following was the principal provision:

Art. 11. The two parties *guarantee mutually from the present time, and forever,* against all other powers—to wit: the United States to his most Christian majesty, *the present possessions of the crown of France in America,* as well as those which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace. And his most Christian majesty guarantees, on his part, to the United States, THEIR LIBERTY, SOVEREIGNTY, AND INDEPENDENCE, absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government, as commerce, and also their possessions, and the additions or conquests which their confederation may obtain during the war, from any dominions now or heretofore possessed by Great Britain in North America.

It is apparent that this was a very unequal, and on our part, most advantageous alliance. France had twenty-five millions of inhabitants: the United States about three; France had a hundred millions of revenue: the United States no resources except voluntary and scanty contributions, loans from France herself, and irredeemable paper money; France had large fleets and armies, well equipped, well disciplined and provisioned: the United States no fleet, and one moderate army, badly clothed, without pay, and mutinying for lack of food; the boon *secured* to the United States, is not susceptible of estimate: liberty, independence, this broad and rich domain, a rank among the nations of the earth—(the mind may as easily grasp an infinite series, as calculate the value and the consequence of all these!!)—the boon *promised* to France, was the preservation of her West India Islands. Neither party was to lay down its arms until the independence of the United States was achieved; but no benefit to France was thus irrevocably fixed. The stipulations in our favor were necessarily performed, before France could derive any advantage on her part. That she punctually, faithfully, and gloriously fulfilled her agreement, has ever been a cause of gratitude, and a theme of praise. That she had other motives, besides friendship for us, is undoubtedly true; but that is a matter foreign to the question of the fulfillment of our positive engagements to her.

On the same day with the above mentioned treaty, there was signed, by the same parties, a treaty of amity and commerce, by the 17th and 22d articles of which, the ships of war and privateers of each nation had a right to enter, with their prizes, into the ports of the other, to be there free from all fees and duties *to judges, or other officers,* and from search, seizure, or examination, as to the lawfulness of such prizes; and the armed vessels of no other nation at enmity with either, were to be allowed to take refuge or shelter in their ports to fit privateers, to sell their prizes, or exchange ships, merchandise, or other lading, in the ports of either, or even to purchase victuals, except in case of being driven in by stress of weather, they might purchase so much as should be necessary, until they could reach the nearest port of the State to which they belonged.

By a convention, signed November 14th, 1788, it was agreed that the consuls of the respective countries should have the exclusive right of regulating the police of the vessels of their respective nations, and civil jurisdiction in all matters of dispute arising on board the same, and in all differences and suits between the citizens and subjects of their respective nations, the same to be determined without costs; and appeals from the consular sentences to be carried before the tribunals of the respective countries.

It was also agreed by the treaty of amity and commerce, that "free ships should give a freedom to goods;" in other words, that the goods of an enemy of either should pass safe *under the flag* of the other.

The right of armed ships to carry in their prizes, and have them adjudicated by their consuls, "without costs," without "paying fees or duties to any judge, or other officer," was esteemed of great value by France, because in case of the loss of her own islands and harbors in America, her vessels could take refuge, or refit and make sale of prizes in our ports; whereas, if they were obliged to cross the Atlantic, and enter the ports of France, they would be pretty sure to fall a prey to the superior number and force of British fleets and cruisers.

While the war of the revolution lasted, it being common to France and the United States, and carried on chiefly for our benefit, no question was raised on our part, as to the nature or extent of our obligations under these treaties, or such of them as then existed. France went on fulfilling her contract, until our peace, liberty, and independence were firmly established, our towns evacuated, and our vast territory defined and secured by treaty. France had now made good her guaranty. An interval of general peace succeeded; when, of course, no occasion could occur to call for the fulfillment of ours. The operation of our own principles in France, was, however, preparing a crisis, when our fidelity to engagements, of which we had received the consideration, was to be tested.

In the beginning of the year 1793, France declared war against Great Britain; and immediately French privateers began to bring their prizes into our ports, and the French consuls to condemn, and order them to be sold. Privateers were also fitted out in our ports, under French commissions. The British minister remonstrated, and demanded restitution of captured vessels. These transactions commenced about the middle of the month of April, 1793; and on the 22d of that month, the cabinet agreed unanimously upon a proclamation of neutrality, which was signed by Washington, on the same day, and forthwith published. This put a stop to the fitting out of French privateers in our ports, the sale of their prizes, and to the consular courts. This produced great irritation and excitement. On the 14th of November, 1794, Mr. Genet demanded the fulfillment of our guaranty of the French West Indies. On the 15th of November, 1796, Mr. Adet, his successor, renewed the demand, in the following words: "The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of the French republic, now fulfills a painful but sacred duty. He claims, in the name of American honor, in the name of the faith of treaties, the execution of that contract, which assured to the United States their existence." At this time, most of the French West India Islands had fallen, before the arms of Britain. That the French government sincerely thought the case contemplated in the league with us had occurred, and that we were bound, in honor and good faith, to come to their assistance, cannot be doubted. As little can it be doubted that they viewed the proclamation of neutrality, and the overthrow of their consular ports, and privateering privileges, as gross and palpable violations of the treaty of commerce, and the consular convention. At the risk of being thought very unpatriotic, I must say that I think they were entirely right. They marked their sense of these injuries by issuing a series of decrees which swept a large part of our commerce into the coffers of the republic. The first was dated May 9th, 1793, and authorized French ships of war and privateers to stop and bring into the ports of France neutral vessels laden wholly or in part with provisions, and destined to an enemy's port, or with merchandise belonging to an enemy. This, of course, was an infraction of the treaty of amity and commerce, which declared that "free ships should give a freedom to goods." It was also a violation of the law of nations. This decree was made retrospective, so as to apply to all captures from the commencement of the war with Great Britain. It is remarkable that the preamble contained an acknowledgment that this act was contrary to the rights of neutrals, and pleaded, in excuse, the necessity under which France was placed by the combination against her. *It also promised indemnity for the captures which might be made under it.* In this state of things, our government perceived that the commercial interest, dismayed at this fell swoop, would withdraw every remaining vessel from the ocean, and put a stop to the revenues of government, if they were not immediately reassured. The administration, therefore, on the 27th of August, 1793, by Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, issued the following notice:

I have it in charge from the President to assure the merchants of the United States, concerned in foreign commerce or negotiation, that due attention will be paid to any injuries they may suffer on the high seas, or in foreign countries, contrary to the laws of nations, and *existing treaties*; and that on their forwarding hither well authenticated evidence of the same, PROPER MEASURES WILL BE ADOPTED FOR THEIR RELIEF.

This was a direct invitation to the citizens of the United States to continue their commerce abroad, notwithstanding the extraordinary dangers which threatened it; and it was an express pledge added to the implied engagement, (binding on all governments,) to protect the citizens of the United States in the prosecution of a lawful commerce. The above mentioned decree was never relaxed; on the contrary, it was followed, in the years 1796-7, by five other decrees, equally unjust and more destructive. The result was, that upwards of six hundred American vessels, without having committed any offense whatever, were seized and confiscated, and many of the crews imprisoned.

The value of this property, without interest, is variously estimated at ten to fifteen millions of dollars.

That our government was bound, in every way in which human obligation can exist, to obtain satisfaction for the injuries thus committed; and, if in its power, to see every one of the sufferers righted, I will not insult the reader by entering into an argument to prove. If there were no other reason for abstaining from such an argument, it would be sufficient, that the government itself, over and over again, subsequently to the public notice above quoted, acknowledged itself to be thus bound. In order to stop these outrages, it ordered reprisals upon French *armed* vessels, and upon their *prizes* taken from us, to be made by American ships of war, and authorized them to be made by American privateers. It built frigates, and raised an army, to arrest these wrongs. It sent repeated missions to demand redress; and the *prime* object of their instructions, in every instance, was to insist, "as *an indispensable condition,* upon a stipulation to make to the citizens of the United States, *full compensation* for all losses and damages which they shall have sustained by reason of irregular and illegal captures or condemnation of their vessels and other property, under color of authority or commission from the French republic or its agents. To effect this, and other objects, Mr. Monroe was sent, in 1794, Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, in 1797, and finally, Messrs. Ellsworth, Davie, and Murray, in 1799.

On the other hand, France repeatedly and uniformly admitted that full compensation was due to our citizens for these spoliations; but then they claimed satisfaction for the *non-fulfillment of our guaranty for their West India possessions,* for the nullification of the rights and privileges of their consuls, the prohibition of the sale of prizes, and of the fitting of privateers; and also for the admission of British armed vessels into our ports, contrary to the treaties. The American envoys proposed a compromise on the subject of the guaranty, so that whenever the French West Indies should be attacked, we should furnish annually, in provisions, $200,000; and the French, when we should be attacked, should furnish, in military stores, a like sum; either party to be wholly discharged on payment of $1,000,000; that the peculiar rights and privileges secured by the treaties to consuls, ships of war, privateers, prizes, &c. should be reduced to the ordinary footing of friendly nations, on payment, by either party, of $600,000 in three years; and that there should be mutual indemnities for captured property.

The French plenipotentiaries, [Joseph Bonaparte, Fleurieu, and Roederer,] proposed, on the part of France,

1. Complete indemnities for losses on both sides, to be liquidated by commissioners.

2. The continuance of the right of French privateers in our ports: and a forfeiture of the indemnities if this right was not restored.

3. The guaranty to be commuted into an annual supply of $400,000, or to be bought off by paying at once $2,000,000.

The American envoys then offered $1,600,000 to obtain a discharge of the United States from the guaranty, and from the privileges of privateers and ships of war, on the condition of mutual satisfaction for captures of vessels and other property. It should have been before mentioned, that the French claimed indemnity for about 80 vessels, of all kinds, which we had captured from them.

The ultimatum of France was as follows:

"We shall have a right to take our prizes into the ports of America. A commission shall regulate the indemnities mutually due. *The indemnities which shall be due by France to the citizens of the United States, shall be paid by the United States; and in return for this, France yields the exclusive privileges of her ships of war and privateers in American ports, and her rights under the guaranty.*"

A further effort was made by our envoys to adjust these conflicting claims, but it was ineffectual. Finally, it was agreed that a treaty should be made to regulate the future intercourse of the two nations, and that *the question of indemnities should be left open* for future adjustment. The following was the article which provided for all this:

"Art. 2. The ministers plenipotentiary of the two parties, not being able to agree at present respecting the treaty of alliance of February 6th, 1778, the treaty of amity and commerce of the same date, and the convention of the 14th November, 1788; nor upon the indemnities mutually due, or claimed, the parties will negotiate further on these subjects, at a convenient time; and, until they may have agreed on these points, the said treaties and convention shall have no operation, and the relations of the two countries shall be regulated as follows."

Then follows the new treaty, or convention, which was signed at Paris on the 30th September, 1800.

You will have perceived that vast interests were concentrated in this 2d article; and also from the *ultimatum* of France, that she deemed her interest in it greater than ours; for that ultimatum was, that we should pay the indemnities to *American,* as well as to French citizens, in consideration of our being released from the *perpetual* guaranty, by which we were liable, at any time, and through all coming time, to be dragged into a war, at the pleasure of another and distant nation, in a situation and with interests as different as possible from our own. Compute the probable cost of fleets and armies for the twenty years' war of the French revolution, if we had complied promptly and fully with our engagements, and then endeavor to imagine the losses, burdens, slaughter and devastation of future European wars, in every one of which we should probably have been involved; remembering always, that our part in those wars would not necessarily have been offensive, and far from our own shores, but that they might, and probably would, at times, be transferred, in all their fury and horror, to our own fields and firesides.

Another proof that France considered that she had a paramount interest in the 2d article is, that her ultimatum still insists on the privilege of her ships of war and privateers to bring their prizes into our ports; which alone might have involved us in other people's quarrels.

On the third day of February, 1801, the new treaty was ratified by the Senate, with the exception of the *second article,* which was expunged, by a vote of sixteen to eleven; *the friends of the American claimants being the majority.* Of course, *they* understood that the rights of those claimants were saved, and would be made good by the United States; otherwise, they would have voted to retain hold upon France. In a word, they meant to place the claimants in a *better* position than they would be, if left to pursue their remedy upon France. But how has it turned out? All the claims of Americans on France for spoliations subsequent to this treaty, have been paid, and those claims were precisely similar to those embraced in the second article of that treaty. Spain, Naples, Russia, Sweden, Holland, and Denmark, have allowed and paid our citizens claims of the same character, and arising at the same time. So that, in fact, these claims which the Senate, by the above vote, intended to put on a better footing than if left to be paid by France, have proved to be on a worse footing than similar and cotemporary claims on some of the poorest governments of Europe!

The treaty was returned to France with our ratification, and it was with extreme difficulty that Bonaparte was brought to ratify it, with the second article stricken out; a new proof that the interest of France in that article was deemed of greater value than our claims. He did, however, after much delay, ratify it, on the 31st of July, 1801, on condition that "both parties renounce the respective pretensions which are the object of that article." The treaty was again submitted to our Senate, and on the 19th December, 1801, they resolved that it was "fully ratified." Within two days, viz: on the 21st December, 1801, the petitions of the American claimants began to be presented to Congress for the allowance and payment of that which had been thus acknowledged, on all hands, and at all times, to be their just due; and their petitioning has been continued from that day to the present, with the exception of the period of embargo, non-importation, and war; an evidence of considerateness and patriotism, which increases their merit and their country's shame.

The question has been much discussed, whether these claims of American citizens were parted with by the government for a valuable consideration, which has inured to the benefit of the people of the United States? I will not enter into an argument on this point, because it seems to me that if any one who has read this narrative requires such an argument, it would be lost upon him. But I will quote the declarations of John Marshall and James Madison, Secretaries of State, at the two times this treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States; and of Napoleon, who ratified it on the part of France.

"If," says C. J. Marshall, "the envoys renounced them, or did not, by an article in the treaty, save them, the United States would thereby become liable for them to her citizens."

In 1804, Mr. Madison said, "The claims from which France was released, were admitted by France, and the release was for a valuable consideration, in a correspondent release of the United States from certain claims on them."

Bonaparte, at St. Helena, said, concerning this matter, "The suppression of the second *article* of the convention put an end to the privileges which France possessed by the treaties of 1778, and annulled the *just claims* which America might have made for injuries done in time of peace."

Such, my friend, is the nature of the claim of thousands of American citizens, many of whom have gone down in poverty and distress to their graves, and others are surviving in lazar-houses, with perhaps a faint hope yet flickering in their bosoms. And why is this? I have already said, that if an old southern horse, blind and spavined, had been lost in a slave-hunt, and payment for him refused, as this righteous claim has been, the Union would have been made to quake a quarter of a century ago, if not dissolved. I say this righteous claim—this great claim—this claim which was the price, in part, and in a great part, of our freedom, sovereignty, independence, and future peace. And how has it been kept back? By fraud, just as the hire of the southern laborer has been. This has been done for forty years, by a conspiracy of southern slave-mongers and northern slave-democrats. Nay, more, discussion has been suppressed, by laying on the table, by previous questions, and by every other corrupt and oppressive device. When a motion to lay the whole subject on the table was finally carried, the other day, amidst a very high excitement, I saw Atherton, of New-Hampshire, and R. D. Davis, of New-York, exchanging congratulations with their southern masters, that this question had got its quietus. These are samples. *Ex uno disce omnes.* I will give you a sample of the southern reasons, which I have heard *privately,* for resisting this claim. A Tennessee whig said, "He couldn't vote so much money out of the treasury. The claimants were rich, and able to lose it." This man had the grace to blush and be confused as he said this. A North Carolina loco said, "He wouldn't look into it, he wouldn't vote for any such old concern." Mark the inhuman sophistry of this reply. His intention obviously was, to liken this case to those betwixt man and man, in which the remedy is at all times open to the injured party, and if he neglects to seek it, the world recognizes the justice of the rule which makes the consequences of his negligence fall upon himself. But these claimants have used diligence, except when their country was suffering and embarrassed in her finances, to obtain justice at the only tribunal where they could seek it. Time, therefore, which justly weakens and destroys almost all claims, has only strengthened this.

In a report made to the House of Representatives, in 1824, by John Forsyth, it is pronounced to be "not creditable to the patriotism" of the petitioners, that they venture to assume that this country owed anything to France under the guaranty and other treaty obligations, to cancel which the property of the petitioners was given up. "Not creditable to their patriotism," after suffering in silence through the years of embargo, war, and consequent embarrassment of the country! And yet that report went through the legislative machine. If this be not a process for crushing human hearts, then human hearts cannot be crushed. If this union of liberty and slavery be not a Moloch to which human victims are sacrificed, then was Carthage a fable, and there was no such thing as "Punic faith." D. L. C.

P. S. "I have not the slightest pecuniary interest in this claim. My attention was drawn to the subject by a petition of an old man in the poor-house, which was handed to me by a member of the Senate, to whom it was sent. I had heard and read something about this claim, from time to time, during twenty years, and had a general impression that the case was one of delay and denial of justice; but I was not at all aware of the depth and strength of the foundation on which the claim rests, of the importance of the principles involved, nor of the nature of the political elements and combinations which oppose, and have opposed themselves to its allowance. But when I read and considered the petition of a blind and infirm old man, living now for ten years on alms, the ample earnings of whose early manhood are faithlessly kept back by this government, and this nation; and when I learnt further, that the origin of this injustice and inhumanity was that accursed fountain of bitter waters which have overflowed for forty years, poisoning and desolating the land on every side, both my pity and indignation were moved; and I could not be easy without giving my humble aid to obtain for an abused class of my fellow-citizens, and for the honor of my country, an act of tardy justice. This is the only interest I have in the matter."

From the New-York American.

MEXICO AND TEXAS.

NUMBER XIII.

I resume the pen, to present to the public some additional facts and considerations in relation to the concerns of Mexico and Texas.

I propose, in my present series, to prove, that Texas, so far from being driven by Mexican oppression to revolution, had no just ground of complaint, but enjoyed extraordinary privileges and favors; and that there would have been no revolution, had it not been for intermeddling speculators from the United States.

In the first place, let us consider the privileges and favors enjoyed by the Texans.

While, in the rest of the Mexican republic, the Roman Catholic religion only was recognized and favored, in Texas, the inhabitants enjoyed perfect religious freedom: and it is a gross imposition on the public for writers and lecturers in this country, to represent the Texans as having struggled, in their revolution, for the rights of conscience and for their religious faith. The trifling amount of conscience and religion they had, they were permitted to enjoy, unmolested; and there is no doubt Mexico would have rejoiced, had they possessed a still larger amount.

But the Texans had temporal as well as religious favors. To families, or unmarried men, emigrating as agriculturists, upwards of 170 acres of land were given. Between four and five thousand acres were given to those who migrated with the view of cultivating the land, and raising stock. Nearly as much was given to those who migrated with the sole view of raising stock, and to unmarried men when they married. Still more was given to those who might marry Mexican women, with an augmentation of the amount of land, according to the family, industry, and activity of the settler. Three "haciendas" and 66,775 acres, were given to each contractor that introduced and settled two hundred families within ten years from the date of grant. Nine "haciendas" and 200,324 acres were given to each contractor that introduced such a larger number of families as might appear to the government entitled to such an amount of land, the same to be settled within ten years. To each contractor introducing one hundred families, 23,025 acres were given; and 184,200 acres to a contractor introducing eight hundred families. Instruments of husbandry, utensils for the use of families, and goods of the value of $2000, were allowed to be introduced free of duty. The new settlers were guarantied in the possession of their lands for twelve years, against all claims for former debts. The settlers on their part were not to sell or purchase slaves, under the penalty or forfeiting all their rights and privileges; and they were not to admit further slaves under the heaviest penalties. And while the *Mexican* settlers were to pay to the State by way of acknowledgment, certain dues for lands, no charge was made on *foreign* settlers.

Was ever such "oppression" heard of before?—Poor unfortunate creatures, these Texans, if we may believe *Rev. military* lecturers and kindred characters. But how different do we find the reality from their representations. Under these auspicious regulations,

Texans were a grateful and a happy people; till at length a different description of emigrants began to appear in their midst, who wanted "to receive the property of one government, while they were determined, if possible, *pugnis et calcibus*, to belong to another." Of *these* emigrants, Mr. Edwards, author of a history of Texas, in 1836, from whom the preceeding quotation is made, remarks:

"The pretensions of this class of Texans have of late years been very much supported by those unconscionable land speculators who have wormed themselves into the country and its citizens' property, contrary to the expressed laws of the Mexican confederation. Therefore do they dread, and that with propriety, too, the ordeal of government inspection.—One hundred per cent. has been added to the strength of this party since 1832, by unjustifiable slaveholders, who have had two vessel loads of negroes distributed among them by the African kidnappers."

There's the secret. Miserable, slaveholding, speculating interlopers from the United States, must needs obtrude themselves upon the peaceful and happy Texans, and, like the serpent in Eden, mar the delightful scene. What were the laws of Mexico to such choice spirits? Were not these men of *Anglo-Saxon* blood? Were not they "born to command?" How, then, could it be expected, that such sons of chivalry would submit to laws made by the Mexican barbarians, especially those laws so very barbarous as the prohibition of the introduction and sale of slaves? Such an outrage on "domestic, patriarchal institutions," was not to be submitted to by the high-souled and the free—slaveholders.

No! no! no! *Such* champions of freedom were the men to lay down their lives, if need be, in the cause of liberty—to enslave others, and to plunder the public domain.

In my next article, I shall show something of the crop that was produced by the sowing of these United States tares among the Mexican wheat in Texas; by which it will appear, that the tares sprung up so luxuriantly as finally to choke out the wheat, and to leave that devoted land one vast region of weeds, briars, and thorns. JUSTITIA.

From the New World.

THE FIRST JUDGE OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

It is with the most profound regret that we have to record the fact that serious efforts are making at Albany to retain the present first judge of the county of Westchester, in the prominent position in which he was placed by whiggery and abolitionists. Are we indeed so poorly off for respectable and competent candidates in that old stronghold of democracy, that we must bow down to the footstool of the whigs and the old federalists, and bestow our political favors on such partisans as WILLIAM JAY, who is an aristocrat in feeling, a whig by his own confession, and withal *the head and front of the abolition party in the United States?* Tell it not in Gath; publish it not in the streets of the capital! If there is anything calculated to prejudice the democratic party in the State of New-York, and in all the northern States, in the eyes of our southern brethren, what could be done more effectually to stamp the mark of the beast upon the forehead of our cause, than the appointment of WILLIAM JAY, the chief instrument in the cause of abolitionism? We hope we are misinformed; and that the respectable representatives from Westchester, both in the House and Senate, will interpose their warning voice, and advise the governor that the democrats of the county do not desire Mr. Jay's nomination. This allusion is not made with any desire to interfere with the appointments of another county, but is dictated by our knowledge of the effect of such an appointment upon general politics.—[*Plebeian*, March 4.

Certainly, the "Plebeian" is right; and we must be allowed to express our astonishment that an idea should have been entertained for a moment by the governor and Senate of THE EMPIRE STATE, of reappointing a judge, no matter how excellent his talents, how perfect his integrity, how well-tried and universally acknowledged his fitness for the office, without first obtaining the full consent of "our southern brethren!" Are we not their vassals, and bound to submit in all things to their sovereign will? Let an express be sent at once, in the name of "the people of the State of New-York, by the grace of God free and independent," to the puissant SOUTH CAROLINA ASSOCIATION, the stern inquisitor of the press, the strict arbiter of morals, and the mighty bulwark of the domestic institution: let them be humbly entreated, in their gracious condescension, to give us their advice, and declare who shall be appointed to the office of first judge for the county of Westchester.—Possibly, from among the present applicants, they may find a man after their own heart.

Again, no abolitionist should be appointed to any office in a free State. His abstract opinions on slavery are to supersede any claim he may possess. No man who believes it incompatible with the genius of freedom to buy and sell little "niggers," as they would pigs, or in the language of Mr. Jefferson Randolph, to breed men and women for the market, as oxen for the shambles—no man who entertains such narrow views of democratic rights and the largest liberty, as to think the southern planters bound to pay wages to their laborers, or who regards unfavorably a system which Mr. Calhoun assures us, "supersedes the necessity of an order of nobility, and all the other appendages of an hereditary system of government," is deserving of the slightest confidence.

And further, no man ought to be elevated to office in these days, who in the slightest degree favors the ante-dated and imaginary constitutional rights, which our fathers, in their ignorance, would have had us cherish, but whose attenuated shadows grow dim in the light of such brilliant meteors as "The Plebeian." We mean liberty of the press—freedom of speech—and the right of petition.

Let not the governor and Senate make the mistake of consulting the wishes of the people in making the appointment. Let them discard the citizens of Westchester, as having no part in the matter, and listen only to the oracle of "The Plebeian," uttering a new maxim in democracy, however long since it was uttered, "*populo ne pare*"—OBEY NOT THE PEOPLE.

Let them look humbly, reverently, and submissively at "the eyes of our southern brethren;" and above all, let no delay occur in soliciting the advice of that never-to-be-forgotten band of patriots who rejoice in the appeallation of "THE SOUTH CAROLINA ASSOCIATION." They proscribed the last address of the departed Dr. Channing, and held to bail the agent who sold it: they passed judgment upon the "Notes" of Mr. Dickens, an author from beyond the sea, before a copy was allowed to meet the eyes of southern gentlemen; and we cannot but deem them equally competent to select a candidate for the first Judgeship of Westchester. We trust the democratic organs of the county—"The Spy," and "The Herald," will express a full concurrence in this felicitous arrangement, and make their due acknowledgments to "The Plebeian," for wishing to relieve them from all trouble in so important a matter.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.—OPPRESSION.

We copy, with pleasure, the following spirited article from the Cincinnati Gazette:

There is one feature connected with slavery, apart from all other considerations, which is revolting, in the extreme; and that is, its goading tyranny over the mind. The master, having, as he does, control over others, is himself a slave. He cannot speak, or write, on the subject which ought most to interest him—his own good, and the good of those around him—without incurring a public censure, alike violent, and insolent; and in many places, if he does so speak and write, he does it at imminent personal peril! Can any servitude be more galling? Is there any tyranny more insulting to human rights? If there be, we know it not.

We have been induced to make these remarks, from the course of conduct pursued towards Cassius M. Clay, of Lexington, for writing against extending the slave trade in that State, and the editor of the Intelligencer, for publishing his essays. Threatened violence to the person and property of the latter was made, and the former was denounced as a factious and dangerous man. And for what? Why, in the one case, because a brave citizen spoke what he thought; and in the other, a brave citizen, not agreeing with him in opinion, gave him the opportunity to do so! Well does Mr. Cassius Clay, in his last number, say:

"The most lamentable evil of slavery is the practical loss of the liberty of speech, and of the press; the timid are overwhelmed by the threatening array of physical force; the conscientious, who are naturally lovers of peace and good will, sink under bitter hate, unceasing persecution; the ambitious and spirited are overwhelmed by the unsupportable anticipation of sudden proscription and certain obscurity, and eternal oblivion; thus truth ceases to be a virtue, and hypocrisy a crime—most severe retribution of the violation of nature's laws—the limbs of the apparent slave are fettered with iron, but the living and immortal spirit of the master wears heavier and more insufferable chains!

Under this, the only intolerable servitude, how many noble and sensitive spirits have perished in inactive and despondent repose! they knew too well that truth and justice were the foundations of glory, and like those who go out to battle in a bad cause, their hearts failed them, and they perished. Was there one whose eye and soul, were quick and sensitive to the sublime and beautiful in nature—history said to him 'liberty and poetry have ever been allied. Was there one who was moved by the grandeur of empires, the luxuries of wealth, the social refinements of civilization, the power of earthly rule—one who would have his nation great? In slavery—he saw no elements of strength, a house divided against itself, sparse in numbers, indolent in production, wasteful in economy, dull in mechanic art, debauched in morals, weak in purpose, possessing *many* elements of gradual decay, and *none* of regeneration and renovation—despair chilled the glow of patriotism, and the embryo statesman perished! Where could the divine, the jurist, the historian, find refuge from this all-pervading curse, that with a triplicate force, sapped the foundations of religion, marred the beauty and harmony of 'the science of justice,' and wrested from 'experience' all the strength of its 'moral?' For such the land of slavery was no abiding place; year after year they have passed off from the home of their birth, in mighty silence, among strangers, suppressing the agony of a lost home—an exiled country; to which conscience allows no words of commendation—pride no language of rebuke!"

Aye, it is even so. There is a practical loss of liberty of speech, and of the press, and all the blessings of liberty, and growth, whenever or wherever the promptings of the heart are stifled, and the conclusions of the head suppressed; and instead of freedom, and its fruit, there must be the uprising of hate, and hypocrisy, and revenge, and all the darker passions of the human heart. Does not this very case prove the fact? Who threatened the person and property of the editor of the Intelligencer? Who denounced Mr. Clay as a factious and dangerous man? A knot of citizens banded together to say, what shall be said, or written, or done on the subject of slavery. But how are they to effect this object? By the law? Not so. By any regular authority? They do not pretend to possess much. It is a self-constituted band, who claim, in this matter, to be the law, and the expounders of the law; "who whip whom they please, as much as they please, and for what they please;" and well and nobly does Mr. Clay resist it, and call the city of Lexington, and the county of Fayette, to arouse from the state of social and political weakness, and apathy, into which seventy-five men have crushed them. Speaking of this band, he says:

"They profess to act through law? No sir. Through any forced construction of the Constitution? No sir. How then? By power given them by a 'public meeting of the citizens of Lexington.' This ought not to be, men of Lexington! But suppose it were the true will of this city; is there a man among all that seventy-five 'respectable' men, who knows not that so far from the citizens of Lexington being competent, the general assembly of the commonwealth of Kentucky cannot invest them with any such power as they have assumed to themselves? I pray the people of the city and country to arouse from the state of social and political weakness and impotency, into which the seventy-five men have crushed them!—Here are seventy-five men, avowedly banded together, for illegal and unconstitutional purposes, with a cool determination to so continue! Who whip whom they please, as much as they please—for what they please. If they may whip with impunity, they may murder with impunity; and if they may murder liberated blacks and mulattoes at will, how long will it be before the whites, male and female, shall perish at their sovereign will? Have they not already threatened to lynch several of the most respectable citizens of Lexington, of the State of Kentucky? And when lynching commences among such men, of course then commences bloodshed and murder? Where is this to end? I tell this band of 'respectable gentlemen' that they must be dissolved. Now the issue is fairly made up between them and the law. The Constitution must be preserved!"

Honored be Mr. Clay, for the stand he has taken in this matter! Honored be he, who, while he resists all improper foreign interference on the subject of slavery, yet speaks of it as he thinks, and of those who seek to defend it by brute force, as he feels!

From the New-York American.

COLONIZATION BENEVOLENCE.

Mr. Editor—In announcing the abolition of slavery in Uraguay, in the American of Monday, you remark, "The whole civilized world is arraying itself against the atrocious curse of slavery." This, sir, is a rash assertion, for surely the American church is an important portion of the civilized world, and instead of arraying herself against slavery, we find among her clergy, of every name and rank, zealous, powerful, and practical champions of human bondage. I will not trespass on your columns by citing proofs of this assertion, but will merely beg permission to call attention to the position assumed on this subject by the periodical of the board of missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In the "Spirit of Missions" for March instant, published at the Missionary rooms, 281 Broadway, and edited by the secretaries of the foreign and domestic missionary committees, we find no less than eight pages devoted to a letter from John McDonough, on African colonization.

This gentleman, who is a large slaveholder in Louisiana, and who disclaims any scruples as to the lawfulness of slavery, adopted a plan of letting his slaves purchase their freedom, by their voluntary labor. The purchase was accomplished in about fifteen years; and the extra exertions of the slaves, stimulated by the hope of freedom, proved exceedingly profitable to the master. He says, "They have gained for me, in addition to having performed more and better labor in the usual time of laboring, a sum of money, including the sum they appear to have paid me in the purchase of their time, which will enable me *to go to Virginia or the Carolinas and purchase a gang of people of* NEARLY DOUBLE THE NUMBER *of those I sent away.*"

Thus the plan lauded by the secretaries of the board of missions, is a plan for swelling the profits of slave labor, giving a new impulse to the internal slave trade, and exiling to the coast of Africa such as may purchase their freedom by fifteen years of extraordinary industry! Mr. McDonough, we see, proposes going to Virginia or the Carolinas to buy a new and larger stock for his plantation; whereas, should he go to Africa for the same purpose, the laws of his country would condemn him to the gibbet.

So delighted is the spirit of missions with this newly discovered plan of making money out of slaves, that it is anxious the CHURCH should avail herself of it. It says, (p. 75,) "Let the proposed mission school be placed with the consent and under the auspices of Bishop Polk, in Louisiana. The first expense (could it not be met?) would be the only one—the purchase of the plantation, which might be WORKED BY SLAVES, who should come under a similar agreement to that noticed above." Thus, even the Church herself, is to support mission schools by the labor of slaves. Nay, the editors tell us that already "the Bishop of Georgia, in his Montpelier Institute, *is testing the sufficiency of* SLAVE LABOR *to support it.*"

As to the *lawfulness* of slavery, of that system which you, a layman, presumptuously style an "atrocious curse," the reverend secretaries settle the question in few words. They say, "what are the difficulties in the way of emancipation? 1st. The master cannot afford it. 2d. The slave is not fit for it. So that it would be ruinous to both, and therefore, common sense and *Christian* prudence forbids."

It might be deemed impertinent to hint, that the gospel, which in certain cases requires us to pluck out a right eye, does not acknowledge *expense*, as a valid excuse for the omission of duty; and it would probably embarrass the secretaries to require of them proof, derived from the history of emancipation in other countries, that it has ever been *ruinous* to both master and slaves. As *Christian* prudence forbids emancipation, God himself demands the perpetuity of American slavery. As slavery may be made to support mission schools, and no doubt, to build churches and maintain clergymen, who can any longer question the right of holding property in man; for does not the end, sanctify the means?

The board of missions was established for the promotion and management of domestic and foreign missions. It seems from its last periodical, that it has assumed the still more arduous and responsible function of vindicating and upholding "the peculiar institution" of the South. A CHURCHMAN.

LEWIS CLARK.

Some time ago, we published an account of this fugitive slave, under the head of, "Leaves from a Slave's Journal of Life." He has since been lecturing in various parts of the country. In Maine he was charged with being an imposter; probably because he is so white. In consequence of this, the editor of the Liberty Standard wrote to the Hon. J. R. Giddings, who replied as follows:

WASHINGTON CITY, Jan. 30, 1843.

My Dear Sir:—Your favor of the 27th reached me by this evening's mail. I am acquainted with Lewis Clark. A brother of his Milton Clark was arrested last fall, by some slave hunters, in the vicinity in which I reside. He was released by a habeas corpus. I then understood they were anxious to get hold of Lewis, who was near his brother at the time of his arrest, but who avoided the men-hunters. A night or two subsequently, Lewis Clark, in company with his brother, and some other friends, came to consult with me professionally. This was the first time I ever saw him, although he had been long acquainted at Oberlin, and with gentlemen who recommended him to me as a shrewd man, and a fugitive from slavery. The slave-hunters related the history of those brothers very nearly as they did themselves. I have no doubt, the story is *substantially* true. Very respectfully, J. R. GIDDINGS.

Communications.

LETTER FROM JOSHUA COFFIN.

PHILADELPHIA, March 16th.

During my residence in this city, I have taken especial interest in the welfare of the colored population, and witnessed, with great pleasure, the rapid improvement in their moral, intellectual, and physical condition. Accurate statistics of their present situation, compared with what it was ten years ago, would surprise, as much as it would gratify, many of your readers. The number of persons finding employment at mechanical trades, has, in many instances, increased from ten to forty fold. The difficulty under which they formerly labored, in that respect, has, in a great measure, been obviated. Colored apprentices can now obtain a knowledge of almost any occupation they may choose; and that, too, from skillful colored mechanics. As an evidence of the truth of these assertions, and of the success which has crowned their efforts, both in city and country, I send for publication the two following communications. The first was written shortly after the destruction of the "Beneficial Hall," on the first of August last, in Lombard street, by a ferocious and unrestrained mob. It has never been published. The author is the Rev. Stephen Smith, a highly respectable colored gentleman of this city, who, during the last few months, has paid to colored mechanics more than three thousand dollars, for labor, &c. The other gives a succinct account of the rise, progress, and present situation of a settlement of colored people, about seven miles from Philadelphia, not far from Haddonfield, N. J.

SMITH'S BENEFICIAL HALL.

In the prosecution of enterprises, designed for public good, a decent respect for public opinion requires that the motives of the proprietors should be perfectly understood. The undersigned, being desirous of correcting the various misrepresentations respecting the objects for which Smith's Beneficial Hall was erected, begs leave to present the following brief statement to a candid, generous, and enlightened public, and thus leave it to their unbiassed decision whether the Hall merited the incendiary's torch, and ruffian violence from a lawless banditti.

The Hall was specially designed to accommodate the increasing wants of the colored people in the promotion of moral and mental culture. It would only have been used for such purposes, as tend to the expansion of the mind, and the promulgation of such principles as direct mankind in the path of morality and virtue.

That such a hall was needed, the subscriber refers the public to the following statistical condition of the colored people, in 1834. Since that period, their moral and intellectual improvement has been increasing in a triple ratio.

They then had fifteen churches, twenty-one day schools, seventeen Sabbath schools, three debating societies, sixty-four beneficial societies, two moral reform societies, four temperance societies; making, in all, one hundred and twenty-six. At the present time, these institutions exceed one hundred and fifty; and if we deduct from these fifteen churches and seven day schools, that are otherwise provided for, there will be at least one hundred and twenty-eight societies which want to hire rooms of sufficient size for their accommodation.

These societies meet from two to four times a month; and their meetings annually will average not less than twenty-five times each; which would make three thousand two hundred meetings; more than an average of ten meetings every night in the week, Sundays excepted. Several attempts have been made, within the past twelve years, to erect a hall for their convenience, by a joint partnership subscription of stock; but every effort failed, because the *means* could not be obtained.

The present accommodation for these societies are three dwelling-houses, that have been converted into halls, and the basement stories of two churches; a third church having been destroyed. It is obvious that these accommodations are not sufficiently commodious, as these societies have from fifty to four hundred members each, and may be safely said to average not less than seventy persons each; which will make eight thousand, nine hundred and sixty members. If to these we add the Sabbath schools, and juvenile temperance societies, formed since the above statement was taken, it may with truth be asserted, that the institutions among the colored people of the city and county of Philadelphia, for moral and beneficial purposes, contain upwards of ten thousand members.

During the day, the hall was designed for the use of schools, and had been rented by two teachers, as an academy for colored youth. It was further needed as a place for scientific lectures, and for public meetings, to take into consideration measures for our improvement. There were also applications to rent it on the Sabbath, for religious meetings. Such was the increasing demand for the hall by a numerous throng of applicants, that the subscriber was obliged to refuse making any further arrangements with them, until the building was finished; having already engaged it for the day time, and four evenings in every week. The site on which it was erected, has been regarded as the most favorable, on account of its proximity to the great body of the colored people.

Such were the objects, for which the hall was erected, which now lies a heap of ruins; a trophy of the triumph of violence over the majesty of the law. The hall has been consumed. But shall its ashes rest? Will not the honor, the virtue, and philanthropy of a "law-loving" and "law-abiding" community, respond in the negative? Shall it not again be reared, to promote the objects for which it was designed? The subscriber will not believe, until he is taught by fatal experience, that in the land of Penn, the home of Franklin, the city of brotherly love, the State that first gave freedom, succor, encouragement, and protection to the colored population, will suffer the desecration of her time-honored name, by suffering the demolition of the property of that very people to go unrequited; erected, as it was, by their own labors, for the promotion of their moral and mental improvement.

The subscriber, therefore, asks, as a law-abiding citizen, and a tax-payer, that his property be again restored. He asks it not only on behalf of himself, as the sufferer, but he solicits the same in behalf of that portion of the community, with whom he is identified; that they may receive protection from those humane legislative enactments, which protect the property of others; and thus be taught to reverence, and obey the laws, under which they live. Having been long and arduously engaged in business in a neighboring portion of the State, and having always received that protection, which is the common panoply of a citizen, he asks no more. Shall his appeal be made in vain? STEPHEN SMITH.

Several years ago, a few friends of the colored people, pitying the condition of that portion of them who resided in the lanes and alleys of the city, and whose whole exertions barely enabled them to exist, and pay the exorbitant rent of their uncomfortable dwellings, determined to make the attempt to meliorate their condition, by offering to them suitable inducements to quit the city, and become owners and cultivators of the soil. For this purpose, a tract of land was purchased, near Haddonfield, N. J. divided into house lots, and offered to all who would purchase, on the most accommodating terms. The settlement, which bears the name of Freehaven, was commenced in May, 1839, and has gradually increased, till it now contains forty-seven dwelling-houses, fifty-four families, and two hundred and thirteen inhabitants. They own about two hundred acres of land, two churches, one school-house, one day school, one Sunday school, having fifty-two scholars, two beneficial societies, and one anti-slavery society. Before their removal to this place, nearly all the settlers were rent payers, and in a situation, which almost necessarily precluded them from accumulating property. They are now, with the exception of two or three families, comfortably situated, in their own habitations. They are an industrious and orderly community. Since the commencement of the settlement, in 1839, the county court has had but two cases before it for the violation of law; and for the last two years, no necessity has existed for an application for relief in the way of charity. There is no tavern in the place. The inhabitants are principally natives of various parts of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, who are not only acquainted with farming, but work at various trades. Various kinds of essential oils are distilled here in large quantities. The soil, though light, is, when well cultivated, productive, and is constantly rising in value. The estimated value of their land and their improvements, made since May, 1839, is nearly twelve thousand dollars. From present indications, a large addition will be made to the population of the settlement, during the ensuing spring and summer, by that class of persons who are determined to live in their own houses, and save that money which has hitherto ground them to the dust, in the form of rent, for the purpose of adding to their comforts, and living independently. Many of them, both men and women, who own a house and lot in Freehaven, find employment, either in the city, or among the neighboring farmers, in the busy season. At other times, they cultivate their own little farms, containing from two to twelve acres. Thus, in times of sickness, or comparative leisure, they have a shelter of their own, to which they can retire, free of expense. In various parts of Pennsylvania, and in other parts of New Jersey, a large number of colored people have, within a few years, become owners of the soil; some of whom have valuable and highly cultivated farms. Others are preparing to follow their example. Should this brief statement fall under the notice of any colored person, whom the pressure of the times is compelling to leave the city, they, with others who find a difficulty in procuring profitable employment, are earnestly advised to become tillers of the soil; and with industry and rigid economy, they will soon be enabled to live in comfort and respectability, with houses and gardens of their own. Within a few years, hundreds have tried the experiment, with the most gratifying results. Their success should induce others to follow their example.

GOOD AND EVIL.

OAKLAND, March 13th, 1843.

I do not feel entirely satisfied that the *dis*-affinity of good and evil, the impossibility of either standing in relation of cause to the other, is placed before the readers of the Standard as clearly as would be desirable or profitable. It may be that *language* is in fault; which, as a means to convey ideas, is so imperfect, compared with *life*.

The Standard has said, that "human motives are always mixed;" and thus accounts for the inability of mankind to perceive that evil does never produce good, or good generate evil. Why is man thus governed by "mixed" motives? Is it not because the teachers, the leaders of the people, inculcate, and the masses believe, that good can be produced by evil, in point of fact, whether admitted verbally or not? And is not this the teaching which will be received by most minds, from the reasoning of the Standard, upon the effects of the Crusade, the Reformation, the American and French Revolutions? To say that "Providence never suffers good to be destroyed by evil, but out of the most overwhelming masses of wickedness, evolves the slightest, pure particle, and sends it reproducing through eternity," is only to express, by different words, that truth is undying, eternal. But to speak of good being "evolved out of evil," is to convey the idea to the common mind, that evil is made to produce good, by an interposition of Providence; which is contrary to an admission previously made in the argument, as well as to the idea of immutability in God's laws. Doubtless, a great advance in European knowledge and civilization resulted from the contact of mind with mind, and mind with the principles of science, which occurred during the Crusades. The historian and the moral teacher allude to this general fact with an accompanying exhortation: "See what good Providence evolves out of evil;" while the latter, at least, when the subject is used for illustration, is in duty bound to trace the good upward through its chain of causation, and to demonstrate each ascending link to be *good, and only good*, however it may be surrounded by evil, as far as the exploration extends. If, as we agree, "men in their short-sightedness think the good comes from the evil," there is a reason for it; and it is because they are *trained* thus to think. How many are found, even among those who perceive that "human motives are always mixed," to tell them that such "mixture" need not necessarily continue to be? How many make it apparent to the learner that the good he perceives is not the result, or consequence, of the evil which is its apparent cause?

I will confine my remarks chiefly to the example given, of the American Revolution, in the further expression of my views. It has been said, "The heroes of the Revolution laid the foundation of a freer government than the world knew. I could not conscientiously have fought with their weapons; yet do I rejoice that freedom was advanced even through that agency. But because a degree of good resulted, is no proof, to my mind, that war is right, under *any* circumstances." This was understood to teach that the "good" of freedom was caused or produced by the *evil* of war. It was also understood to assume, for a fact, that this government is freer than any other. Several reasons were offered in reply for believing the people of this nation were not really benefited by the change effected by the revolution; and from what has since been added by the editor of the Standard, I gather no reasons to change my opinions as to the fact. But a new series of causes are now introduced to view, in addition to the war of the revolution, as having had their influence on events. "Men not only fought for freedom, but they reasoned for it, and wrote for it, and prayed for it." From two of these agencies we can trace a downward sequence. Good in themselves, they were fitted to produce good. To them, I apprehend, may be justly attributed as causes, the whole of the good effects which are erroneously ascribed to them, in conjunction with *fighting* for freedom. But the teachers of the people do not so inform them. They are misled in their opinions as to what causes have produced the good they perceive or enjoy; while this last, for political effect, and in a spirit of self-glorification, is most prodigiously overrated. Hence, they are prepared to make as indiscreet a choice of means for the future, as they have done in the past; and consequently, so long as like continues to produce like, so long as good cannot be *evolved* even from evil, or out of it, as an effect of which evil has been, in any degree, the cause, so long must the progress of the race towards an understanding of, and living up to, true principle, be of the same snail's pace that it has ever been.

Your correspondent who honestly believes that "this nation is a thousand fold more enslaved than it would have been had the colonial relation to Great Britain existed to the present day," is asked, "Has he wisely reflected how much of England's growth is owing to our revolution? Can he calculate how much thought has been quickened, and conscience unfettered, in the fatherland, by our bold unmooring from the anchorage of the past? Will he venture to say that emancipation in the British Islands would have taken place, had our fathers never put forth the Declaration of Independence?" To me it seems idle to speculate upon what would have been, if something else had not been. Were I to give the reins to imagination, however, I should adopt the pleasing supposition that the war of the revolution had been waged by our fathers with moral weapons alone. I should fancy the result to have been, that "the truth had been made mighty through God;" and that, instead of our government being that miserable abortion it is, misnamed a republic, we should have been freed from the curse of slavery, and public virtue and private morality would have been as common as they now are rare; intelligence, prosperity, and happiness, abounding in the place of the ignorance, adversity, and distress, under which our people labor. I should imagine "gallant France" enjoying freedom and equality, caught by the contagion of our example, instead of withering under her present despotism, and guiltless of the crimes which must continue to stain her name with opprobrium, whilst history preserves a record of the past. England, free not only from the curse of negro slavery, but also of the political and commercial tyranny which grind her millions in the dust, and all the nations of the earth, upleaping from the black night of misery and degradation which hovers over their masses, to the sunshine of freedom and prosperity. But, as was said before, such speculations are idle. These very questions asked of me, involve again the idea that good fruit may be the growth from corrupt seed. Those who believe this erroneous doctrine to be pregnant with evil, should be very perspicuous in their teachings, to avoid conveying it; for it is impossible to calculate how much of the crime and suffering under which humanity in all ages has groaned, has been the consequence of its influence upon men's actions. Whilst I acknowledge myself incompetent to divine how much *worse* the present condition of mankind would probably have been, had the truths never been uttered, which the Declaration of American Independence embodies, I imagine there would be equal difficulty in calculating, with precision, how much *better* it might have been, had the struggle of our forefathers for their rights, been conducted alone by innocent and justifiable means. This ignorance, on our part, of what would have been the consequence, had the chain of past events been altered in a single link, is happily of no great importance to us. If we have discovered or observed an unvarying order in the generation of events, we are prepared to act and to *teach* for the future. To me it appears that man, equally with God, can judge of the expedient, so far as he has "revelations of the *right* and the *true*; for without a new creation in which it will be possible for evil to cause good, and good evil, the *right* must ever be the expedient.

A. BROOKE.

THE MERCIES OF SLAVERY.

My attention was forcibly arrested by an article in a late number of the Standard, copied from the Liberator, describing a new mode of torture inflicted upon fugitive slaves at the South. The details were probably given to "M. W. C." by one of the unhappy race for whom the punishment was invented; but I have not a doubt of their strict truth, horrible as they are.

A residence of several months in Louisiana, a few years since, fully convinced me that *any* excess of cruelty might there be practised with impunity; and that man, when possessed of absolute power over his fellow-man, but too often became almost a demon. I could cite many circumstances in confirmation of this opinion, related to me by slaveholders themselves; and a few which fell under my own observation; but I cannot recur to some of them, even in thought, without sensations of heart-sickness. Never can the fearful impressions received during my sojourn in that region of spiritual and moral darkness, be erased from my mind.

Were it possible for the women of the northern States to imagine the dreadful atrocities perpetrated on the sugar-plantations of Louisiana, and in the cotton-fields of Mississippi,—could they but realize how even female hearts may become hardened by daily witnessing and exercising cruelties upon their helpless victims, I do believe their instinctive humanity, (even without any higher consideration,) would prompt them *all* to become abolitionists, in feeling and in truth, whether they thought proper to join the society in *name*, or not.

Oft in slumber memory bears me
To those blood-ensanguined shores,
Where the "father of the waters"
With resistless current roars.

Oft the thrilling shriek of anguish
Vibrates on my sleeping ear,
Which across his turbid billows,
I at twilight used to hear.

For, when day's long toil was ended,
And the cooling night-breeze rose,
Torture's crimson'd scourge resounded,
Breaking evening's calm repose.

Surely in that land of sunshine,
Mercy's voice is heard no more!
Even its fragrant orange-blossoms
Seemed defiled with human gore.

Oh, thou proud, luxurious region!
Sink of dark iniquity!
In the hour of retribution,
Who shall intercede for thee?

Though the smiles of bounteous nature
Richly crown thy fertile plains,
And the fervid sun above thee
With perpetual splendor reigns;

There are woes within thy borders,
Which no human tongue may tell—
Deeds of soul-appalling horror,
Which *must* weigh thee down to hell.

Sternly frowns the avenging angel,
But his power thou darest defy;
Even like Syria's Heaven-burned cities,
In *their* day of destiny.

Perhaps "ten righteous souls" within thee,
Still suspend the wrath divine;
But the "availing prayer" of Abraham
Could not cancel guilt like *thine*. E.

A SUCCESSFUL REFORM.

About twenty years ago, S. J. May was travelling in Virginia, with a mind just opening to the evils of the peculiar institution, and an eager thirst for information from every quarter. He chanced to encounter Mr. Marshall, nephew to the chief justice, and rode with him several days. Slaveholder as he was, he felt the enormity of this oppression, and was not backward to say what he felt. Indeed, where the northern youth could venture a *suggestion*, he had a startling *assertion* to make; where the future reformer doubted that evil *might* be, he produced some appalling fact to prove that evil *was*.

"But," said he, "I have overcome this monster, and disowned him. My plantation lies near Fredericksburg. It is large, and has very many hands upon it. Three years ago, I found everything was going wrong, and I determined to right it. My overseers were often cruel, and say what I could, as long as *they* remained, severity must be the law and the order. My slaves were unhappy, though I favored them as much as possible; building them a chapel, and providing them with many things not commonly thought necessary. The plantation, produced me nothing; sometimes it even run me in debt. I was determined not to go on after this fashion.

"At last, I told my people that I had a proposition to make; and that I wished them to take a week to consider of it. I proposed to give up my estate to them; to make them their own managers; to retain only a few rooms in my house, and remove my family to Fredericksburg.—My only condition was, that they should pay me what remained, after the supply of their own wants; with that, be it more or less, I was determined to be satisfied.

The proposal was received with the utmost joy. There was no hesitation about acting upon it. That day was a blessed day to all. A rational and healthful relation was peaceably substituted for one that impoverished and distressed *me*, while it beggared and crushed *them*.

I called some of the more intelligent ones aside—I told them, as no white men were to direct their work, it would be necessary to choose some captains from among themselves. One of them replied, with a knowing look, "Ah," master, we understand all about *that*." The very same day, just those men were elected to the needful offices, whom I would have preferred over all others; the most experienced and far-sighted workmen on the plantation.

To make a long story short, no serious difficulties arose; no great losses were experienced; no insurrections broke out; no runaways were missed. They knew that he was willing they should go where they could be happier; but they felt that no such place could be found. So they were very glad to stay, and were not a little elated by this high trust.

The result was every way remarkable. Each year they had a handsome sum, as much as all the rest of his income, to present him. They clothed *themselves* well, and lived in all respects comfortably; and yet, because their industry was stimulated by a worthy *motive*, there was always an abundant remainder for their master.

One little anecdote is all I have time to add; and this shows so beautifully the immeasurable superiority of unextorted labor, that I cannot withhold it. There are certain seasons immemoriably appropriated as holydays, on the plantations. On one of these days, Mr. Marshall was surprised to find his men all hard at work. "What does this mean?" said he. "I wish you should enjoy yourselves as much as others." "Yes, master," was the reply; "but there is one crop that must be taken care of just now; and may be ruined if it is neglected; we will take our pleasure by and by."

A short time after, a story flew round that an insurrection had broken out on Mr. Marshall's plantation; that all order was over, and force would be needed to restore industry. Mr. Marshall did not fear for himself, but he knew it was necessary to pacify the fears of others. So he took his horse, and rode out to the farm. Sure enough, all work was given up; the blacks were frolicking about in gala dresses, as merry as crickets. As he approached, they threw open the gates, and gave three cheers. "What does this mean?" he inquired. "Why, master, the crop is taken care of; so now we take our holyday; and we mean to be very happy." "Very well," said he, "let me come and help you." And, after riding to a neighboring plantation, to quiet their alarm, by stating the real case, he returned and spent with his faithful workmen one of the pleasantest days of his life.

So much for even a *partial* experiment to set wrong right. F. W. H.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1843.

☞ TO SUBSCRIBERS. ☜

Those subscribers to whom bills are sent with this paper, are earnestly requested to remit the amount to the Treasurer, without delay. An agent cannot call on every individual, where subscribers are scattered over a wide space. The reasonableness of this request is apparent. We ought to pay as we go; but it will be entirely impossible, if those who receive the Standard, do not pay for it.

The Executive Committee urge this request upon all who receive bills. Delay not a single day; but send us the amount due, and as much in advance as possible.

COLONIZATION BENEVOLENCE.

An extract from the New-York American, in another column, alludes to a letter from John Macdonough, esq. of Louisiana, in the "Spirit of Missions." The New-York Observer copies the "pious slaveholder's" disgusting melange of sin and sanctity, "with the hope that his plan may be favorable on the minds of others." That the New-York Observer should do this, is not surprising; for it has ever manifested a jesuit's skill in reconciling theft with the requirements of religion. But I was surprised that the Boston Christian World republished McDonough's letter, with the approving comments of the New-York Observer, without one word of disclaimer. It seems strange to me that any mind of common honesty can read that specimen of southern colonization without perceiving fraud, selfishness, and cant, in every paragraph. As I read it, a chill ran over me, as if I were handling a snake.

In the first place, the pious slaveholder, while he was robbing his fellow-beings of their children, their earnings, and themselves, was greatly shocked that they should work for themselves on the Lord's day. This he was determined to prevent. "But," says he, "long experience had convinced me of the utter impossibility of carrying it out in practice, by men held in bondage, and obliged to labor for their master six full days in the week." He, therefore, piously resolved "to give them half of Saturday to labor for themselves, under a penalty, well understood by them, of punishment for disobedience, (if they violated, thereafter, the Sabbath day,) and sale to some other master." Thus exhorted and threatened, the slaves kept Sunday to his satisfaction; they learned to preach, and expound the scriptures passably well; and at times he read them a sermon himself; probably avoiding the text, "Wo unto him that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work."

Observing how diligently his bondmen worked the half day that was their own, (during which time they sometimes let themselves out for pay, to him or other planters,) he tells us:

"I was led to calculate, in what length of time, by labor, economy, and perseverance in well doing, they would be enabled to purchase the remaining five and a half days of the week, (seeing that they had a capital of their own, in the one half of one day in each week, to begin to trade on,) and by that means obtain freedom for themselves and children. In this estimate and calculation, I soon satisfied myself that it could be effected in the space of *fourteen to fifteen years, at the farthest*. The next consideration with me was, '*Is it my interest* to assist them in its accomplishment; or can I, by any means I can devise, make it to become *my interest* to assist them in obtaining their freedom at that time?' This also required reflection and calculation. I went at it; and in a very short time, from the clearest of all deductions, was convinced—satisfied that it could be done; and that it was, in every point of view in which the subject could be looked at and considered, *my interest* (and more especially, if I took into view the considerations of satisfaction, pleasantness, and happiness of others) to do it."

He made the proposition to the slaves, on one condition only; and that was, that *they should immediately depart for Liberia*, when they had worked out their freedom *by the toil of fifteen years*.

The ignorant, simple-hearted creatures, thought "massa" was wondrous kind; and accepted his proposal with eagerness. The pious robber of the poor goes on to say:

"From the day on which I made the agreement with them, (notwithstanding they had, at all times previous thereto, been a well-disposed and orderly people,) an entire change appeared to come over them; they were no longer apparently the same people; a sedateness, a

in answer to which, with an audacity meant for modesty, he declares that it was "a case of simple *honesty*."

To keep men and women toiling *fifteen years* without wages—to compel them to pay for their own bones and sinews a sum sufficient to buy twice as large a "gang of people"—to oblige them to exile themselves to a distant and savage shore, as the only condition of having free use of the limbs they have paid for—this the perpetrator of the outrage calls *honesty*; and the only point of dispute between him and the pious friends of colonization missions, is whether it is mere honesty, or remarkable *generosity*.

In their efforts to separate religion and morality, men's minds get woven over with a strange jumble of cobwebs. And what shall we say of the Church that endorses such things, and holds them up for imitation?

L. M. C.

BEWARE OF TESTS.

In the proceedings of the Herkimer county convention, I find the following resolution:

Whereas, slavery, driven from refuge to refuge, has taken the Church for its last hiding place, and chosen the self-styled ministers of Christ as its advocates; and whereas, she has not been disappointed in the protection afforded by the one, nor in the services rendered by the other; therefore,

Resolved, That all abolitionists are bound to follow it to its favorite hiding-place, expel it thence, and with unhesitating fidelity withdraw their support from any church or clergyman who presumes to shelter or defend, or who will not use his influence against this hideous system of inhumanity and wrong.

If there is any one error which abolitionists ought to avoid, above all others, it is the assumption of jurisdiction over the rights of individual conscience. To this end, the above resolution strongly determines, whether so intended or not. The next step will be to declare that no member of a sect can be an abolitionist, unless the sect be a tee-total anti-slavery body. Indeed, the resolution clearly embraces this test. I am unwilling to believe it will be insisted on to the destruction of the sublime feature of unrestricted freedom of conscience, which we have never ceased to affirm that all may exercise on the anti-slavery platform.

The fact is indisputable that many, if not a large majority of the most zealous, active, and sacrificing friends of the slave, belong to sects which are not declared anti-slavery. No part of our past history presents a more satisfactory retrospect, than that which records the efforts of church members to rouse their sleeping organizations to an acknowledgment of human rights—efforts which have contributed to a wider dissemination of anti-slavery principles than any which have originated without the limits of sectarian bodies; and which are still contributing to the same results in no small degree.

Nothing is more obvious, than the restraint of sect upon freedom of conscience; but nothing so weakens that restraint, as the agitation which many of its members keep up on the question of slavery. Let them be faithful in their connections, so long as they deem it right to remain; and let not those who have felt bound to assume a more independent position, denounce them as false, while they are progressing in the path *which they themselves so recently trod*. It is the diligent *affirmation and demonstration of principles*, and not prescriptive resolutions, which are calculated to show people their errors. We must put up with getting along step by step, just as the *foremost are yet advancing*. However we may regret the tardiness of some, and the incomprehensiveness of others, we must be content with the studious advocacy of principles, and avoid sectarian or non-sectarian tests. It is important, in my view, that we should jealously guard the incipiency of such tests.

The following is another instance of the same error:

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH RENOUNCED.

At a recent meeting of the Oneida Presbytery, held in Vernon Village, the Rev. William Putnam, a member of this body, presented the following resolution—viz:

Whereas, American slavery violates the authority of the law of God, and contravenes the spirit of the gospel—therefore,

Resolved, That this Presbytery regards it as its duty not to set apart to the work of the gospel ministry, nor to admit to its communion those who hold their fellow-beings in slavery, or those who justify others in holding them, by giving their influence in civil or in ecclesiastical relations to sustain them in office and in Christian fellowship.

This resolution Mr. Putnam explained. He distinctly avowed his intention to have the Presbytery, by passing the resolution, refuse fellowship to any, who, at an election, should understandingly vote the whig or the democratic ticket. Whereupon, the Presbytery refused to pass the resolution; no one voting for it, except Mr. Putnam. Upon this, Mr. Putnam gave notice that he renounced the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church, and declined all further connection with it. He stated that this was not a hasty step, but one taken with due consideration.

After a protracted, but ineffectual effort, on the part of the Presbytery, to convince Mr. Putnam that his course was unscriptural, and at war with the very principles of freedom he was professedly seeking to promote, they ordered the above facts to be published in the New-York Observer, and Evangelist, that the public may know that Mr. Putnam is no longer acting by authority of the Presbyterian Church.

By order of Presbytery,
HORACE P. BOGUE,
SOLOMON STRONG,
LUTHER P. BLODGETT, } *Committee.*

Clinton, March 9th, 1843.

If I am rightly informed, Mr. Putnam is a "liberty party" man; and the fact of his retiring from his church connection, serves to explain a part of his resolution, which might otherwise be regarded as of questionable import. His remaining in the connection would, in his opinion, be giving his influence to justify slavery. On this ground, he is right to retire. But the application of this test *to others*, becomes rather a knotty point. In the first place, he assumes too much, in holding that persons in membership with an ecclesiastical body necessarily endorse all the acts of that body. They may protest against *certain*, whilst harmonizing with its *general* purposes.

The adoption of Mr. Putnam's resolution would have made the Oneida Presbytery the *tool of "liberty party."* Many of its members must have seen this, even if it had not been unequivocally avowed by the mover. They were perhaps unwilling to admit a belief in the impeccability of "liberty party," as the 40th article of their creed! Such a test as that, might well alarm a Presbyterian abolitionist. I am willing to believe that Mr. Putnam may be a most excellent man, and a good abolitionist; which I could *not* believe, were I to adopt his theory. It is my honest conviction that "liberty party" is one of the most formidable obstacles to the progress of anti-slavery principles, with which those principles have to contend; formidable, because of its plausibility alone. Must I therefore hold, that connection with it is in itself an anti-slavery disqualification? No; not any more than I would apply the same test to the members of a church which refuses to be an adjunct of "liberty party."

But will the mover of the resolution carry out his principle in the *civil*, as well as in the *ecclesiastical* connection? If there are any members of the Oneida Presbytery who belong also to the "liberty party," to be consistent, he must require that party to renounce them, because they "justify" slavery in voting against his resolution; and if it refuse to renounce them, *he* must renounce *it*. In no other way can he escape the responsibility, whatever it may be, of sustaining a connection with men who "justify" slavery by "giving their influence" to said ecclesiastical body.

I am not seeking to find apologies for the Oneida Presbytery. If it be not essentially a pro-slavery body, then is it most unlike every other branch of the corrupt institution of sect, in this country. My purpose is, to draw attention to the impropriety, not to say the *folly*, of constraining the freedom of the anti-slavery platform, by sectional and party tests. It is not, in my opinion, the true anti-slavery basis, which forms itself after this manner. Let not the unconverted imbibe a groundless prejudice against that basis, by such an erroneous view. If church members manifest a blind attachment to sect, giving its claims priority over those of humanity, *they have yet to obtain their first glimpse of anti-slavery truth!* Nay, *they have yet to comprehend the first principles of that Christianity which they profess*. It can be shown by the light of that Christianity, that the indefeasibility of human rights can in no degree be invalidated or superseded by the claims of sect; and that the arrogance of sect, in displacing those rights, is the best proof which can be afforded of its corruption.

There are now on the anti-slavery platform men of all sects and parties, (and may it be so, while sects and parties exist,) whose works attest the sincerity of their attachment to the principles of human freedom. If any *one* possess the right to impose his peculiar views as a test, *every other* has an equal right. And if those who *abjure all sects and parties*, impose such abjuration as a test, on others, they commit a fault as glaring as would be the imposition of the most absurd dogmas of theology. For myself, I have no faith in the religious sects, nor in the political parties of the day, which make the morals and the industry of our country the sport of their base ambition, and have no interest or design to vindicate them; but I claim for the anti-slavery platform *freedom from constraint*—that freedom which will admit men of all grades, sects, and parties, or of no sect and party, to unite their efforts for our great object.

Truth is the *test*, the *rectifier*, the *preserver*. If we maintain it in its sternness and simplicity, there will be no cause to fear the coalition of inferior elements. If there is or be such coalition, let us regard it as an evidence that we have not been faithful. Thus conditioned, the anti-slavery platform will reject no man who can aid it; and people who steal property and newspapers will be no more likely to enter upon it, than they who steal men and women, or who sell their moral manhood for endowments of sect or party, or for pottage in any shape.—J. S. G.

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, March 18, 1843.

I believe it is entirely unknown in the United States, that preparations have been making, for a considerable time, in the South American nations, to realize at length Bolivar's humane and noble idea of a Congress of those nations. Seven of them have already appointed their plenipotentiaries to represent them in such an assembly, to be convened at Lima. Those seven are, Mexico, New Grenada, Peru, Chili, Bolivia, Buenos Ayres, and Brazil. There are but two others, whose concurrence is of much importance; viz: Venezuela and Ececador, and there is no doubt of their uniting. It will be remembered, that the congress of Panama was defeated by the advocates of slavery in the United States; chiefly, as I have always understood, through the agency of Mr. Poinsett, of South Carolina. I think the South Americans have acted wisely in not now inviting *our* co-operation. In the present state of our domestic politics, we could exercise none but a mischievous influence there. We have already the only useful and honorable representation of our country which, under present auspices, we can have there; and that is, Mr. Adams's admirable and catholic discourse about our relations with Mexico, to his constituents at Braintree. I learn, by a letter from La Guayra, Venezuela, that that speech is being republished throughout South America, and is everywhere producing a great sensation. Thank God, there is something to rescue the American character from universal odium.

The importance of this great measure may be better conceived, by considering the effect of nine nations, whose commerce is eagerly sought by the most powerful empires, agreeing upon ameliorations of the law of nations,—upon the right of search, for instance, in pursuit of manstealing pirates; upon the reference of all future quarrels between any of the contracting parties to the arbitration of such a congress, &c. &c. Surely, the philosopher may find much reason, on this occasion, for congratulation. I would not form expectations *too* sanguine; for we have been sadly disappointed once. It does, however, appear to me, from the information I have received, that the prospect of success is this time highly favorable.—D. L. C.

SLAVERY AND THE CHURCH.

Those who read the last Standard, will see by the Indiana convention what fermentation the leaven of anti-slavery truth begins to produce in the Society of Friends. In the Methodist church, there is much greater activity of dissent. We mentioned some time ago, the withdrawal of the venerable Father Sprague, of Duxbury, Mass. one of the oldest and best pillars of the Methodist church.

The good old man gives the following reasons for this step, in a letter to the ministers and members of the Methodist church to which he belonged:

"The principal reason for my joining the Methodist church was, that I thought, and do yet think, that the doctrine taught by John Wesley, and his followers, was the true doctrine of the gospel of Christ. I also thought that the Methodist societies were anti-slavery and temperance societies. I had read some of the writings of John Wesley, and particularly noticed his denunciations of slavery. He called it the worst of all villany. I had read the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal church, but I confess I had not read it with that attention which I ought to have done; but I have since read it with more attention, and am now fully sensible that it is anti-republican, and extremely arbitrary, and such as no Christian ought to submit himself to. But, at the time I joined the church, (which was about twenty years since,) the bishops and the general conference had in no instance, to my knowledge, used their influence for the continuance of slavery, or any other sin, in or out of the church; but they were then trying to spread scripture holiness through the land. But, by degrees, the sin of slavery crept into the church; and when an attempt was made by a few members of the church to expel that enormous sin, all the official influence of the bishops and the general conference was arrayed against them; and for eight years last past, they have been persecuting abolitionists, and trying to defend slavery. The annual conferences in the slaveholding States have passed resolutions, declaring that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not a moral evil. I consider the Methodist Episcopal church as one great prop in support of slavery; and I consider that so long as I belong to that church, I am, by so doing, giving my influence in support of slavery.

I may be asked, and have been asked, 'Are you going to leave the church of Christ?' My answer is, no. The Church of Christ consists of all those who have faith in Christ and the spirit of Christ, whether they belong to any organized body or not. It may be asked, 'Are you going to denounce the Methodist doctrine and turn 'infidel?'' I answer, no. I am a true old Wesleyan Methodist. I believe with John Wesley, that 'all slaveholders are exactly on a level with men-stealers.' In a letter dated London, September 20th, 1788, Mr. Wesley thus writes to Mr. Asbury—'How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be called bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought. Men may call me a knave, a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never, by my consent, call me a bishop. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this.' Thus you see that I agree with Mr. Wesley, the founder of Methodism, both on the question of slavery and episcopacy.

In the Methodist churches, there is yet a good degree of the principles and spirit of John Wesley, but it is like fire in a coal-pit—it is smothered by episcopal authority. But I think it is receiving light and air, and I trust the time is not far distant, when it will let its light shine, and come back to true Methodist principles, and consider all slaveholders exactly on a level with men-stealers."

Orange Scott, Le Roy Sunderland, &c. &c. &c. have withdrawn one after another. Charles O. Towne, and the entire church under his care, at Rockport, Mass. have withdrawn. The following were the reasons assigned:

"We believe the Methodist Episcopal church to be guilty of supporting slavery. By her authorities, she has said it might be justified by the golden rule. She has said, by two of her annual conferences, that slavery is not a moral evil—and that without *rebuke*;—and her general conference has passed a law by which a certain portion of our colored brethren and sisters are prohibited from giving testimony even in church trial,—the like of which never has been known from time immemorial. These and other acts stain her with the blood of slavery.

Resolved, That we believe there are *now* many things in the polity and discipline of the Methodist Episcopal church, contrary to primitive Methodism and the spirit of the gospel.

Resolved, That in our opinion, by discontinuing our connection with the Methodist Episcopal church, we can be more useful in promoting the cause of Christ, and that we do hereby separate ourselves from said church.

Resolved, That we leave with no unkind feelings towards our brethren who remain in the Methodist Episcopal church, and will not indulge any whatever.

Resolved, That we take the name of Wesleyan Methodists, and that a committee be chosen to unite us to the same.

About six hundred members and forty preachers in Western New-York and Pennsylvania have formed themselves into a society under the name of the "*United Ancient Wesleyan Methodist Society*;" on the plea that the Methodist church has departed in polity and discipline from the pure old Wesleyan standard, and joined hands with that foulest of abominations, American slavery. A paper called the True Wesleyan has been established to sustain the seceders; and almost every number contains two or three articles headed "MORE SECESSIONS!" "MORE SECESSIONS!

A Methodist anti-slavery convention was held a few weeks since, in Boston, at which it was

Resolved, That, slavery being a sin, and this sin in the Methodist Episcopal church, nothing short of a speedy and entire separation of slavery from the church can satisfy the consciences of honest and faithful abolitionists; and, therefore, reformation or division is the only alternative.

A very powerful address to southern Methodists, written by the Rev. Charles Adams, was issued by the convention, and circulated far and wide.

The southern religious papers express alarm at these movements. They say, "the proceedings of the convention held in Boston will surprise every Methodist south of the Potomac." Very likely; but the righteous old John Wesley would surprise them a good deal more, should he re-appear, and stir them up with some of his sound old-fashioned preaching.

The churches do not perceive that the angel of Truth is going down into the stagnant pool, to trouble it for the healing of diseases.

Whatsoever life there is remaining in sects will manifest itself more and more in secessions, and re-unions on a purer basis.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, AND SLAVERY.

From time to time, we are rejoiced to meet collateral assistance, in our attacks upon slavery, from those who have no connection with anti-slavery societies. These evidences of a changing public sentiment increase continually, and pop upon us from quarters the least expected.

The Christian Examiner, published in Boston, has been long established, and widely known for the intellectual ability with which it has been sustained. In common with other periodicals, it has hitherto been rather shy of meddling with "the peculiar institution." But the number for March contains a masterly article on slavery. If John Pierpont did not write it, then there is somebody else in the Unitarian ranks who wields a pen with an edge as keen and sabre-like as his own; an edge like the sword of Saladin, which cuts its way equally well through feathers or steel.

The communication is in reply to an article in the October number of the Southern Review, elaborately but most absurdly written, to vindicate slavery on Scriptural grounds. The Boston reviewer exposes its sophistry in a style as scholar-like as it is caustic. In answer to the old argument, that God ordained Canaan to be "a servant of servants," he says: "We have not the slightest proof that the Canaanites were negroes. Was Bathsheba black? Was Solomon a mulatto? His mother was the wife of Uriah the Hittite; and the Hittites were of the posterity of Canaan. Moreover, the Phœnicians were descendants of Canaan, and Carthage was founded by a Phœnician colony. Was Cadmus black? Was Hannibal black? We do not know; but history certainly makes no mention of the blackness of the Carthagenians."

The Southern Review says: "Some other branches of Ham's posterity became distinguished for arts and arms; but not Canaan, whose name signifies the knee-bender." The Boston reviewer replies: "There are a few trifling exceptions to this sweeping remark, which was no doubt intended to be taken *cum grano salis*. In the art of navigation, the Phœnician descendants of Canaan took precedence of all the nations of antiquity, and controlled the commerce of the world. In some departments of mechanical arts, the Phœnicians were distinguished. Solomon, when about to build the temple, sent to the king of Tyre for workmen; 'for,' said he, 'thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians.' The letters, arts, and civilization of Greece, have been generally traced to a Phœnician origin; and the very alphabet used by our brethren of the Southern Review, consists, for the most part, of the letters Cadmus gave. We had supposed, too, that the Carthagenian descendants of Canaan had attained some 'eminence in arts and arms.' The Romans certainly thought so, while the scales of victory so long wavered, and when the future empress of the world left of her own dead, on the plains of Cannæ, a number larger than that of the Carthagenian army. But we will say no more of Tyre and Sidon, or of Carthage; though if the curse of Canaan were hereditary, they must have had their part of it."

The Southern Review maintains that the posterity of Canaan are always passive under slavery. The Bostonian answers: "Ham had three sons besides Canaan. Where are the posterity of Cush, Mizraim, and Phut? Have the occasional insurrections among slaves, sprung from individuals of the *other* races, enslaved by *mistake*? Were Cinquez and his brethren, of Amistad fame, descendants of Phut? Or was there an overlarge mingling of the seed of Cush among the negroes of St. Domingo? If the posterity of the four sons of Ham occupy together the continent of Africa, while the children of Canaan alone are created to be slaves, then must the supercargo of a slave ship stand in need of special, divine illumination, in order to know whom he shall purchase, and whom reject. The fact, that the thunderbolts of divine indignation have not yet fully avenged the guilt of negro slavery, may be a sufficient proof at the South, but can be nowhere else, that these negroes are of the doomed race of Canaan."

We shall hereafter make more copious extracts from this admirable article; but we are obliged to forbear for the present, for want of room.

LETTERS FROM NEW-YORK—No. 55.

Passing up the Bowery, the other day, I saw two ingenious little toys of slight construction, representing men sawing planks; one of them rapidly, the other more slowly. The moving power was an ascending current of warm air from the blaze of two astral lamps. My thoughts are set in motion by even a slighter impetus than are these toys. Once in motion, they go circling round, Past, Present, and Future; and where they may light, it is hard to tell. That Bowery window carried me back to the walking statues of Dœdalus, and the flying dove of Archytas; showing how very ancient was the instinct in man to imitate all animated forms. Then I thought how every tool was but a portion of some form of perfect life. The ichneumon had a patent borer before ever gimblet or augur was invented; the bee knew how to take up the least possible room in the construction of her cells, long before mathematicians discovered that she had worked out the problem perfectly; the beetle had an excellent pair of forceps, before the steel instrument was dreamed of; and I doubt not the fish had the best of submarine reflectors, before the Brooklyn lady invented hers. Then recurred an idea which has for years been familiar to my mind; that every conceivable thing that has been, or will be invented, already exists in nature, in some form or other. I tried to recall, but could not, the name of the ancient philosopher, who spent his days in watching insects and other animals, that he might gather hints to fashion tools. I saw clearly why it was that man alone could reproduce all things in creation, and apply them to new uses; because he alone contains the *Whole* in himself, and all things bear relation to him, as to a common centre. Higher ideas I had also; but they were floating clouds; though some of them had a wondrous golden edge. Mixed with these were some odd notions about machinery; as how men sought to pray by machinery, and convert the world by machinery, and advance temperance and anti-slavery by machinery; and teach grammar by a machine, in which the active verb is a little hammer, pounding on the objective case. I smiled to think how the subtle, all-pervading power, which instils religion, and changes public sentiment, and clothes thought in language, slips away from all such efforts, like quicksilver, that runs to meet its kindred drop, and will not be fashioned in any mould.

With such cogitations, I pursued my walk, till the homeward path brought me again before the busy toymen. The sight of them awakened recollections of the water clock presented to Charlemagne by Haroun-al-Raschid. Each hour was a little door, out of which issued an armed knight on horseback, and rode round the dial-plate, till noon, when all went in, and shut their respective doors behind them;—of Bonaparte's vase, which being touched, exhibited a palm-tree, under which a shepherdess was spinning;—of Mælzel's chess-player, and Maillardet's musician, which sat at a piano and played eighteen tunes, while the bosom heaved, the eyes moved, and the motions of the fingers were strangely like life.

These brought up reminiscences of that pleasant book, Miss Edgeworth's Rosamond, and of the account it gives of M. Bautte, the wonderful watchmaker of Geneva, whose fame drew half of travelling Europe into his little dark shop, up seven flight of stairs. I never saw one of his famous mice, with jewelled eyes, which run about the room, nibble crumbs, prick up their ears, and imitate all the motions of a living mouse, so perfectly that even cats are deceived by them; nor the fuzzy caterpillars, which, being wound up, crawl over leaves, and writhe, and wriggle, when touched by a pin. But I have seen one of his music-boxes, from which rises a most perfect and brilliant little bird, no bigger than a humming bee, and pours forth a gush of melody, like a nightingale. Every little glossy feather is perfect, and the motions are wonderfully bird-like, especially when it droops its pretty head under its wings, and seems to fall asleep.

I have heard that this remarkable mechanician had a daughter, to whom he was so strongly attached, that he could not bear to have her out of his sight. He loved to have her sit in a corner of his workshop, where the light fell on her beautiful countenance, as she diligently spun flax on her little foot-wheel. The angels came for this beloved young creature, and took her away. The bereaved father tried to beguile his sorrow by making a perfect image of her, seated in the accustomed corner. The face was done in enamel, and the resemblance was striking. When wound up, like a watch, this image spun her thread, moving eye, foot, and hand, as if alive. The busy hum of the wheel was to the fond father's ear a remembered joy; and the happy countenance, shaded by the very cap his daughter used to wear, was like a dream of sunshine. But even of this imperfect consolation he was soon deprived. The maiden had been beloved by two of his apprentices, one of whom ran away in despair, when he suspected that the other was preferred. Afterward he heard of her intended marriage, and stung with jealousy, resolved to murder her, rather than suffer her to be the wife of his hated rival. He came back to Geneva, ignorant of her death, rushed into the workshop, and deceived by the perfect resemblance of the machine, discharged his pistol, and cracked the fair image into fragments.

In this figure, there was no attempt to imitate the voice; but it is said that M. Glantz, a celebrated mechanic in Vienna, has succeeded in making an instrument which very perfectly imitates the human voice. By pressing a spring, it executes different melodies in a tenor voice, a barytone, or deep bass. This instrument is to be introduced into the head of an automaton, to be exhibited as a public singer.

It is a pity that some skillful machinist does not make a set of automata, to do the business of this nation in Congress. It would be a great saving of traveling expenses, and board; they would be in no danger of attacking each other with bowie-knives and pistols, though the southern members might be so constructed as to *talk* about it, if deemed necessary to keep up their reputation; and by means of electro-magnetic mediums, they might be guided by political wire-pullers at home, as well as they now are.—L. M. C.

☞ Our Ohio correspondent mistakes our meaning; as he probably would do, if I prolonged discussion on the knotty question of Good and Evil. Such is the imperfection of language, that it would be almost impossible to avoid this, even in conversation; and the difficulty is much increased by corresponding through type. Were I to answer all his queries, according to the light I have, we should be fairly launched in a sea of theological controversy. Suffice it to say, that I never supposed the *fighting* in our revolution produced any good. There is no doubt in my mind that it impeded, and still impedes, the beneficial effects flowing from other *good* instrumentalities. But I think many of those who fought were actuated by as true a principle of freedom, as many of those who merely reasoned or prayed; it was an error as to the choice of means. Thus many of our liberty party brethren are most sincere and disinterested friends of the slave; yet the *means* they have chosen to help him will produce demoralizing effects on the anti-slavery cause, and greatly retard its progress. That they will do considerable good I doubt not; because honesty of intention is in numbers of them mixed up with errors of judgment. Could they have contended altogether for principles, and not at all for a *party*, the good effect by scattered truth would doubtless be increased an hundredfold. And doubtless the world would have been prodigiously in advance of its present position, had the heroes of '76, instead of using guns and swords, calmly but firmly said to Great Britain, as William Penn did to those who threatened to shut him up in the Tower for not taking off his hat to the Duke of York: "Well, friend, thy strength shall never equal my patience."

TAKE NOTICE.

American Free Produce Association.—Free Labor Dry-Goods.—Prices Reduced.

The committee on manufactures take great pleasure in announcing that they have determined upon a reduction of ten per cent. on the prices heretofore charged on articles made by them. On all purchases or orders, after the date of this notice, a reduction of one-tenth will be made from the foot of the bill. Arrangements have been made to increase the variety of free goods, and considerably enlarge the operations of the committee. Shall we be sustained? Yea, or Nay?

Orders may be addressed to either of the committee: James Mott, No. 36 Church Alley; Daniel L. Miller, jr. No. 88 North Front street; Sarah H. Palmer, No. 33 North Fifth street; or to J. Miller M'Kim, wholesale agent, No. 31 North Fifth street.

Lydia White, at the corner of Fifth and Cherry sts. is the retail agent of the association; where housekeepers are earnestly invited to call, or send their orders.

Philadelphia, 4th mo. 1st, 1843.

JUDGE JAY.

On another page we copy from the New World some sarcastic comments on a paragraph published in the New-York Plebeian; a paper which prides itself on being a true democrat, "dyed in the wool."

We will venture to say that the *only* charges the bitterest partisan opponents can bring against Judge Jay, are, that he is a whig and an abolitionist. That he is a man of unbending integrity, able and experienced as a lawyer, honest and impartial in the discharge of his official duties, mild and candid in debate, humane in his principles and feelings, pure in his moral character, and courteous unto all men, none who know him will venture to deny. But it matters not that he is a worthy descendant of his illustrious father; he is an abolitionist; and Virginia will not shake hands with New-York in political intrigue for Van Buren, if abolitionists are retained in office. Southern politicians won't work without pay, though their laborers do.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

This young gentleman, whose course is alluded to, in the extract on the second page, from an Ohio paper is a distant relative of Henry Clay, and as unlike him as possible on the subject of slavery. He is a young man of great talent and popularity, which he has long shown a noble willingness to risk in behalf of human freedom. He resides in Lexington, Ky. and has lately published in the Intelligencer there, a series of essays against the extension of the slave trade in Kentucky. This gave offense to some of the citizens of that town, and they held a meeting in which they denounced Cassius M. Clay, as a factious and dangerous man, and threatened him and the editor of the Lexington Intelligencer with personal violence, and destruction of their property by Lynch law.

☞ James Cannings Fuller, of Skeneateles, N. Y. so well known to abolitionists, and so much respected as a generous, uncompromising, and unwearied friend of oppressed humanity, has lately gone to England with the hope of obtaining funds for the Institute of Industry and Science, at Dawn, in Canada. Those to be benefited by this institution were once slaves under this republic, and are now loyal subjects of the British crown, and joyfully hail the *Dawn*. May the God of the poor prosper Friend Fuller in his benevolent mission.

☞ Our correspondent "E," is requested to look in the Emancipator, of March 16th, for an answer to her inquiry.

☞ In publishing the memorial of the representatives of the yearly meeting of Friends, in Baltimore, which appeared in the Standard of the 16th instant, the date, 1 mo. 24th, 1843, was accidentally omitted.

D. L. CHILD is requested to send the continuation of the article on Right of Search, as *early* as Monday morning next, *without fail*.

☞ Abby Kelley's post-office address, is Utica, N. Y. care of Francis Wright.

☞ Will James Monroe please communicate his address to this office?

Anti-Slavery Items.

LOOK AT THIS!—James Boyle, of Ohio, gives the following statistics of *Christian* denominational slaveholding in this country:—

Methodist (Episcopal) own	80,000 slaves.
Baptists	125,000 "
Presbyterians (both schools)	70,000 "
Episcopalians	80,000 "
Campbellites	100,000 "

Smaller denominations in proportion, making in all 450,000 human beings owned by professing Christians as slaves, and subject to all the liabilities of property.

ST. LUCIA—ESCAPED FROM SLAVERY.—On Tuesday last, at about six o'clock in the evening, there arrived at Gros-Ilet, in an open boat, a party of twelve persons, (four men, two women, and six children,) who had fled from the state of slavery on Valencon's plantation, St. Ann's Martinique. The boat was about thirteen hours in accomplishing the voyage. A few hours more would have thrown the refugees back into the hands of their former masters; for, at an early hour yesterday morning, the French government schooner, *l'Antelope*, carrying six guns, was observed coming down from the very direction in which the boat had landed on the previous evening. This vessel was dispatched from Martinique immediately on the party being missed; and was engaged the whole night scouring the channel in pursuit of its object. The *Antelope* afterwards came to an anchor at Castries, where her officers will have an opportunity of seeing, in the enjoyment of perfect freedom, those whom they were sent in quest of as slaves.—*Palladium*.

THE PATRIARCHAL INSTITUTION.—We copy the following from the New Orleans Picayune, of March 13th. Such advertisements are much less frequent than they used to be before abolitionists were abroad to copy them; but they are still frequent enough to give an observer many glimpses behind the scenes. The same paper advertises a runaway slave, who "had an iron collar round his neck, which he says was put on at New Orleans":

$20 *Reward*.—Ran away from the subscriber, of Barbour county, Ala. on the 22d of October, 1842, a mulatto boy named Fountain, aged 30 or 35, of slender form, and thin visage, with little beard, speaks quick and short, and *is very intelligent; has the mark of some lashing on his back, and has been shot*, one of which remains under his iright arm, and may be seen by examining.

ISHAM JOHNSON, Irwinton, Ala.

A VOICE FROM TUNIS.—Advices from Tunis, to December 20th, published by the *Journal des Debats*, announce that the Bey had, of his own free will, proclaimed the freedom of the children of slaves hereafter born in the regency. A fortutious circumstance led to the adoption of that measure.—A black family, doomed to be sold separately, had taken refuge in the house of M. de Lagau, the consul-general of France, and claimed his protection. The next morning, M. de Lagau waited on the Bey, and his highness was so moved by the painful picture which the consul drew, of the wretched fate which awaited that family, that, after interrogating the father and mother, he ordered his minister to purchase them, and treat them with the greatest kindness, and then, turning to their child, he told him that he was free, and solemnly declared that all the children who should hereafter be born in the regency, should be free. This decision was immediately promulgated, and was to be strictly executed.

A letter of Mr. Lusco, dated at Sax, November 25th, says: "A caravan of many slaves arrived on the frontiers of the kingdom of Tunis, a few days ago, when immediately the shiekhs of those districts presented themselves to the chiefs of the caravan, and in the name of the Bey, informed them, that, as soon as they passed the frontiers with slaves upon the territories of the Bey, those slaves were free, and the masters had no more control or right over them. The chief of the caravan, seeing that the Bey's orders were precise and absolute, retired forthwith. "It is a great pity that the ordinances of many Christian princes and governments are not equally well enforced."—*Malta Times*.

A VOICE FROM SOUTH AMERICA.—The government of Uraguay have passed a decree, declaring that, "from and after the promulgation of the present resolution, *there are no longer any slaves in the territory of the republic*." The decree was subscribed on the 12th of December, 1842.

OBITUARY.

Died, of consumption, on the 17th instant, at the residence of her brother, Thomas Wright, near Westfield, Burlington county, N. J. CORNELIA WRIGHT, in the twenty-second year of her age. Gentle and retiring in her disposition, her removal will be most felt in the family circle of which she was a member; the law of love and kindness being her study through life, she was much endeared to them; and, indeed, to all who knew her modest worth. But they "sorrow not as those who have no hope." She bore a faithful testimony of a Saviour's redeeming love, during her long sickness.—"Oh, what joy," said she, "I feel in the prospect of joining the Lamb, being clothed in the white robe in the presence of my Maker; sometimes I feel such a fullness of His love, that it seems to overflow. My soul longs to be with God, and the body in the grave; that all may be at rest."

Some weeks previous to her death, she broke forth in the following language: "Brother, sisters, and friends! I wish you all to remember the poor slave—think how many millions are in bondage; not the bondage of the body only, but of the soul also. If I had the tongue of men and angels, it were not enough to proclaim the goodness of my God; but if I had been lashed from infancy, and treated but little better than a brute, would it have been thus with me? I fear not. I have not been as faithful in the cause as I ought; but that is now forgiven me. I feel bound to impress it on you all, to be more faithful." She requested everything that was put about her (at the last) to be *free*, and of a plain and simple character; adding, "I have not done my duty to the slave, and why should I carry the produce of their labor with me to my grave?"—*Communicated*.

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS

For the week ending 3d mo. (March) 25th, 1843

Received for the Standard.—The following persons have each paid $2: R. T. Reed, Richmond, Ia., Samuel Nichols, Columbiana, Ohio; David Bowsman, Pendleton, Ia.; James A. Breed, Lynn, Mass.; Francis Wyman, Lexington, Mass.; Lewis Whiting, North Yarmouth, Me.; Joshua R. Giddings, Western Reserve, Ohio.

Nathan Potter, New-York City, 50 cents; F. Divall, Rochester, $1; Lewis W. Thomas, Pendleton, Ind. $1; Levi Peck, Newtown, Ct. $1; George Davis, Thompson, Ct. $1; Jane Pixley, East Bloomfield, N. Y. $1; Robert B. Parsons, New-York city, $1; John C. Merritt, Bethpage, L. I. $10; George Foster, for Anover Bundle, $1,50; Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, $250.

ISAAC T. HOPPER, *Treasurer*.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

St. Domingo.—According to the latest accounts, the revolutionists are likely to have complete success. They refrain from pillage, avoid shedding blood as much as possible, simply aiming at a change in the government more conducive to the liberty and improvement of the people. It is said that the wishes of the people of Port au Prince are with them. The following letter has recently arrived.

PORT AU PRINCE, March 8th, 1843.

"We are in daily expectation of seeing President Boyer displaced; the revolt in Aux Cayes and Jeremie having become general. We must, however, give credit to the insurgents, who have conducted the revolution, thus far, with little or no bloodshed. The Haytiens are determined not to fight one against the other; and if the change of government be effected as it has been commenced, the Haytien people will be justly advanced in the consideration of the world at large.

The dominant administration of Hayti for twenty years past, has greatly impoverished the resources of the country; and there is no doubt that by energetic measures toward agriculture, prefaced by the disbanding of the army, and proper protection to foreign trade, by a salutary revision of the tariff, Hayti in a brief space of time would offer a fair field in commerce."

It is believed that President Boyer has large sums of money invested in France on his own private account. Some accounts state that he had taken a small vessel, fitted her up as a man-of-war, made one of his relations a commodore, and put him in command of her—and it was supposed he had placed a large amount of property on board of her, and intended himself to embark in her, if this affair should assume an unfavorable aspect.

Dr. Lovell had a new trial, and was a second time convicted and sentenced to death, Mr. Gooch, our consul at Aux Cayes, declares his intention to demand his passports if Dr. Lovell is put to death.

Escape of Texan Prisoners.—A large number of the prisoners, lately captured by the Mexicans at Mier, have escaped. On their way to the city of Mexico, some of them contrived to break loose from their fetters, routed upon their guard, and overpowered them, after a short but desperate struggle. During the contest the Texans lost 24 of their number; the survivors escaped across the country, almost destitute of food or clothing.

Slaves.—The Senate of Kentucky, by a vote of 21 to 14, have decided that the law of that State, prohibiting the importation of slaves, shall not be annulled.

A New Channel of Commerce.—We had an arrival yesterday from New Orleans, of a cargo of corn! Think of that. The west supplying the Atlantic States with one of their own staples, cheaper than they can raise it themselves. This corn, at 20 cents, the market price in New Orleans, will pay an excellent freight at the current prices here—43 to 45.—*Norfolk Herald, Va.*

Railroad Accidents.—A few days ago, about half way from Albany to West Stockbridge, the leading engines stuck in the snow, and the after train run upon them. The front of the passenger car was torn off, all the passengers were thrown from their seats, and one was seriously injured, by falling against the stove. On the evening of the same day, the train arrived at West Stockbridge about 7 o'clock.

But a much worse accident happened afterwards. The train arrived at West Stockbridge about 7 o'clock, on Saturday evening, with but one engine; the other three having gone on to Boston. The cars passed the depot a little, and then the engine was detached, and ran back for the rear; but a switch had been left carelessly, in such a manner that the engine was turned upon the track leading into the engine house; this was closed, but the engine burst in, and ran through. In the house were a number of laborers, cold and fatigued, who had gone in to rest themselves. Most unhappily several of them were on the track. One man had a leg cut off just below the knee, and the bones split up and down. The back of another was very much hurt—one foot cut off, and the toes of the other foot. Both these were poor men; one an Irishman, and the other an American, who has a wife and three children. The passengers made up a purse for the relief of the sufferers; and a sleigh was sent to Pittsfield for a surgeon; who, however, had not arrived at 8 o'clock next morning.

The Snow.—The communication between New-York and Albany was completely obstructed, for a few days, by the late snow. In the neighborhood of Utica, it was four feet deep, and the woods were quite impenetrable.

The Comet.—This was visible at Rio Janeiro, on the 5th of March.

Mr. Turnbull.—This gentleman has been appointed to the office of commissioner of the mixed commission court, established in Jamaica, for the suppression of the slave trade.

A Murderous Temper.—During a turnout of the militia in Windsor, N. C. a man by the name of Weston jocosely knocked off the hat of a man by the name of Cheatum. The latter instant

Poetry.

We are much obliged to an unknown correspondent for the following vigorous and searching lines:

ODE FOR JULY FOURTH.

Hark! how the loud, deep, cannon's roar
Insults the peaceful dawn,
And beat of drums and chime of bells
Marshals the early morn!

Imposing ranks of freemen stand
And claim their proud birthright,
Impostors, rather, thus to brand
A name they hold so bright!

A country vowed to liberty,
And vowed to slavery too,
And striving, with a half-way soul,
To do and to undo.

Let the day see the pageant show,
Float banners to the breeze,
Bid Liberty all hail! throughout
Columbia's lands and seas.

Give open sunlight to the free,
But, for Truth's *equal* sake,
When night sinks down upon the land,
Proclaim dead Freedom's wake.

Beat muffled drum, toll funeral bell,
Nail every flag half-mast;
Though we fought Freedom's battles well,
We're traitors at the last.

Let the whole nation band, in one
Procession to appear;
We and our sons lead on the front,
And *slaves* bring up the rear.

America is rocked within
Thy cradle, Liberty,
By Africa's poor, palsied hand;
Strange inconsistency!

We've dug one grave as deep as hell
For tyranny's black sin,
And dug another at its side,
To thrust our brother in.

We challenge all the world, aloud,
Lo! tyranny's deep grave!
And all the world points back, and cries,
Thou fool! behold thy slave!

Yes, rally brave America,
Thy noble hearts and free,
Around the eagle, as he soars
Sunward, in majesty.

Yet, *half* thy emblem is the bird,
Outfacing thus the day;
But, would'st thou make him *wholly* thine,
Give him *a helpless prey*.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

MELODY FOR ABOLITIONISTS.

"Without Concealment, Without Compromise."

AIR—Hail to the Chief.

Mail to our cause, 'tis in triumph advancing,
True be each heart to the motto we bear!
Soon may the light from our banner that's glancing,
Shine on the spirits now sunk in despair;
Soon may the rescued slave
See that broad banner wave
Far over mountain, and valley, and sea,
Then may America
Joyfully, thankfully,
Join in the chorus,—we're free, we are free!

Ours is no meteor, the spirit deceiving,
Dazzling awhile, and then shaded by night,
The star that we follow is ever receiving
Unchangable rays from a fountain of light;
And we pray, that from Heaven
New strength may be given,
To follow it, whate'er our trials may be,
Until America
Joyfully, thankfully,
Join in the chorus—we're free, we are free!

Many a heart, by the truths we are telling,
Soften'd, has turn'd from its once erring way,
And freedom and joy are in many a dwelling,
Where once the dark spirit of slav'ry held sway;
Some who once scourged the slave,
Pray our banner may wave,
Ere long over mountain, and valley, and sea,
And that America,
Joyfully, thankfully,
Join in the chorus—we're free, we are free!

Hail to the friends of the cause! howe'er parted
By varying duties, their pathways may be;
Hail to the labors of *all* the true-hearted,
Toiling that they who're oppress'd may be free;
May they still labor on,
'Till the victory be won,
Till all "*Tales of Oppression*" of past days shall be,
Until America,
Joyfully, thankfully,
Join in the chorus—we're free, we are free!

S. WILSON.

THE QUADROON GIRL.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

The slaver in the broad lagoon
Lay moored with idle sail;
He waited for the rising moon,
And for the evening gale.

The planter, under his roof of thatch,
Smoked thoughtfully and slow;
The slaver's thumb was on the latch,
He seemed in haste to go.

He said, "My ship at anchor rides
In yonder broad lagoon;
I only wait the evening tides,
And the rising of the moon."

Before them, with her face upraised,
In timid attitude,
Like one half curious, half amazed,
A Quadroon maiden stood.

And on her lips there played a smile
As holy, meek, and faint,
As lights in some cathedral aisle
The features of a saint.

"The soil is barren,—the farm is old,"
The thoughtful planter said;
Then looked upon the slaver's gold,
And then upon the maid.

His heart within him was at strife
With such accursed gains;
For he knew whose passion gave her life,
Whose blood run in her veins.

But the voice of nature was too weak:
He took the glittering gold!
Then pale as death grew the maiden's cheek,
Her hands as icy cold.

The slaver led her from the door,
He led her by the hand,
To be his slave, and paramour,
In a far and distant land?

"I HAVE NO INFLUENCE."

What if the little rain should say,
So small a drop as I
Can ne'er refresh those thirsty fields—
I'll tarry in the sky!

What if a shining beam of noon
Should in its fountain stay,
Because its feeble light alone
Cannot create a day?

Doth not each rain drop help to form
The soul-refreshing shower,
And every ray of light to warm
And beautify the flower?

Miscellany.

MADAME D'ARBLAY.

From the Edinburgh for January, we copy the following interesting account of Miss Burney, afterward Madame D'Arblay, author of the celebrated novel, called Evelina:

At Lynn, in June, 1752, Frances Burney was born. Nothing in her childhood indicated that she would, while still a young woman, have secured for herself an honorable and permanent place among English writers. She was shy and silent. Her brothers and sisters called her a dunce, and not altogether without some show of reason; for at eight years old she did not know her letters.

Her father was a teacher of music, and obtained in London pupils enough to support his family, modestly, indeed, and frugally, but in comfort and independence. His professional merit obtained for him the degree of Doctor of Music from the University of Oxford; and his works on subjects connected with his art gained for him a place, respectable, though certainly not eminent, among men of letters.

The progress of the mind of Frances Burney, from her ninth to her twenty-fifth year, well deserves to be recorded. When her education had proceeded no further than the horn-book, she lost her mother, and thenceforward she educated herself. Her father appears to have been as bad a father as a very honest, affectionate, and sweet-tempered man can well be. He loved his daughter dearly; but it never seems to have occurred to him that a parent has other duties to perform to children than that of fondling them. It would indeed have been impossible for him to superintend their education himself. His professional engagements occupied him all day. At seven in the morning, he began to attend his pupils, and, when London was full, was sometimes employed in teaching till eleven at night. He was often forced to carry in his pocket a tin box of sandwiches, and a bottle of wine and water, on which he dined in a hackney-coach, while hurrying from one scholar to another. Two of his daughters he sent to a seminary at Paris; but he imagined that Frances would run some risk of being perverted from the Protestant faith if she were educated in a Catholic country, and he therefore kept her at home. No governess, no teacher of any art, or of any language, was provided for her. But one of her sisters showed her how to write; and, before she was fourteen, she began to find pleasure in reading.

It was not, however, by reading, that her intellect was formed. Indeed, when her best novels were produced, her knowledge of books was very small. When at the height of her fame, she was unacquainted with the most celebrated works of Voltaire and Molière; and, what seems still more extraordinary, had never heard or seen a line of Churchill, who, when she was a girl, was the most popular of living poets. It is particularly deserving of observation, that she appears to have been by no means a novel reader. Her father's library was large; and he had admitted into it so many books which rigid moralists generally exclude, that he felt uneasy, as he afterwards owned, when Johnson began to examine the shelves. But in the whole collection there was only a single novel, Fielding's Amelia.

An education, however, which to most girls would have been useless, but which suited Fanny's mind better than elaborate culture, was in constant progress, during her passage from childhood to womanhood. The great book of human nature was turned over before her. Her father's social position was very peculiar. He belonged, in fortune and station, to the middle class. His daughters seem to have been suffered to mix freely with those whom butlers and waiting-maids call vulgar. We are told that they were in the habit of playing with the children of a wig-maker, who lived in the adjoining house. Yet few nobles could assemble in the most stately mansions of Grosvenor square, or St. James's square, a society so various and so brilliant, as was sometimes to be found in Dr. Burney's cabin. His mind, though not very powerful or capacious, was restlessly active; and, in the intervals of his professional pursuits, he had contrived to lay up much miscellaneous information. His attainments, the suavity of his temper, and the gentle simplicity of his manners, had obtained for him ready admission to the first literary circles. While he was still at Lynn, he had won Johnson's heart, by sounding, with honest zeal, the praises of the English dictionary. In London, the two friends met frequently, and agreed most harmoniously. One tie, indeed, was wanting to their mutual attachment. Burney loved his own art passionately; and Johnson just knew the bell of St. Clement's church from the organ. They had, however, many topics in common; and on winter nights, their conversations were sometimes prolonged till the fire had gone out, and the candles had burned away to the wicks. Burney's admiration of the powers which had produced Rasselas and the Rambler, bordered on idolatry. He gave a singular proof of this, at his first visit to Johnson's ill-furnished garret. The master of the apartment was not at home. The enthusiastic visitor looked about for some relic which he might carry away; but he could see nothing lighter than the chairs and the fire-irons. At last he discovered an old broom, tore some bristles from the stump, wrapped them in silver paper, and departed, as happy as Louis IX. when the holy nail of St. Denis was found. Johnson, on the other hand, condescended to growl out that Burney was an honest fellow, a man whom it was impossible not to like.

Garrick, too, was a frequent visiter in Poland street and St. Martin's lane. That wonderful actor loved the society of children, partly from good nature, and partly from vanity. The ecstasies of mirth and terror which his gestures and play of countenance never failed to produce in a nursery, flattered him quite as much as the applause of mature critics. He often exhibited all his powers of mimicry for the amusement of the little Burneys; awed them by shuddering and crouching, as if he saw a ghost, scared them by raving like a maniac in St. Luke's, and then at once became an auctioneer, a chimney-sweeper, or an old woman, and made them laugh till the tears ran down their cheeks.

But it would be tedious to recount the names of all the men of letters and artists whom Frances Burney had an opportunity of seeing and hearing. Colman, Twining, Harris, Baretti, Hawkesworth, Reynolds, Barry, were among those who occasionally surrounded the tea-table and supper-tray at her father's modest dwelling. This was not all. The distinction which Dr. Burney had acquired as a musician, and as the historian of music, attracted to his house the most eminent musical performers of that age. The greatest Italian singers who visited England regarded him as the dispenser of fame in their art, and exerted themselves to obtain his suffrage. Pachierotti became his intimate friend. The rapacious Agujari, who sang for nobody else under fifty pounds an air, sang her best for Dr. Burney without a fee; and in the company of Dr. Burney even the haughty and eccentric Gabrielli constrained herself to behave with civility. It was thus in his power to *give*, with scarcely any expense, concerts equal to those of the aristocracy. On such occasions, the quiet street in which he lived was blocked up by coroneted chariots, and his little drawing-room was crowded with peers, peeresses, ministers, and ambassadors. On one evening, of which we happen to have a full account, there were present, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Bruce, Lord and Lady Edgecumbe, Lord Barrington, from the war-office, Lord Sandwich, from the admiralty, Lord Ashburnham, with his gold key dangling from his pocket, and the French ambassador, M. de Guignes, renowned for his fine person, and for his success in gallantry. But the great show of the night was the Russian ambassador, Count Orloff, whose gigantic figure was all in a blaze with jewels, and in whose demeanor the untamed ferocity of the Scythian might be discerned through a thin varnish of French politeness. As he stalked about the small parlor, brushing the ceiling with his toupee, the girls whispered to each other, with mingled admiration and horror, that he was the favored lover of his august mistress; that he had borne the chief part in the revolution to which she owed her throne; and that his huge hands, now glittering with diamond rings, had given the last squeeze to the windpipe of her unfortunate husband.

With such illustrious guests as these, were mingled all the most remarkable specimens of the race of lions—a kind of game which is hunted in London every spring, with more than Meltonian ardor and perseverance. Bruce, who had washed down steaks cut from living oxen with water from the fountains of the Nile, came to swagger and talk about his travels. Omai lisped broken English, and made all the assembled musicians hold their ears, by howling Otaheitean love-songs, such as those with which Oberea charmed her Opano.

With the literary and fashionable society which occasionally met under Dr. Burney's roof, Frances can scarcely be said to have mingled. She was not a musician, and could therefore bear no part in the concerts. She was shy almost to awkwardness, and scarcely ever joined in the conversation. The slightest remark from a stranger disconcerted her; and even the old friends of her father who tried to draw her out, could seldom extract more than a Yes or a No. Her figure was small; her face not distinguished by beauty. She was therefore suffered to withdraw quietly to the background, and, unobserved herself, to observe all that passed. Her nearest relations were aware that she had good sense, but seem not to have suspected, that, under her demure and bashful deportment, were concealed a fertile invention, and a keen sense of the ridiculous. She had not, it is true, an eye for the fine shades of character. But every marked peculiarity instantly caught her notice, and remained engraven on her imagination. Thus, while still a girl, she had laid up such a store of materials for fiction, as few of those who mix much in the world are able to accumulate during a long life. She had watched and listened to people of every class, from princes and great officers of State, down to artists living in garrets, and poets familiar with subterranean cookshops. Hundreds of remarkable persons had passed in review before her, English, French, Germans, Italians, lords and fiddlers, deans of cathedrals, and managers of theatres, travelers leading about newly-caught savages, and singing women escorted by deputy-husbands.

So strong was the impression made on the mind of Frances, by the society which she was in the habit of seeing and hearing, that she began to write little fictitious narratives, as soon as she could use her pen with ease, which, as we have said, was not very early. Her sisters were amused by her stories. But Dr. Burney knew nothing of their existence; and in another quarter her literary propensities met with serious discouragement. When she was fifteen, her father took a second wife. The new Mrs. Burney soon found out that her step-daughter was fond of scribbling, and delivered several good-natured lectures on the subject. The advice no doubt was well-meant, and might have been given by the most judicious friend; for at that time, from causes to which we may hereafter advert, nothing could be more disadvantageous to a young lady, than to be known as a novel-writer. Frances yielded, relinquished her favorite pursuit, and made a bonfire of all her manuscripts.

She now hemmed and stitched, from breakfast to dinner, with scrupulous regularity. But the dinners of that time were early; and the afternoon was her own. Though she had given up novel-writing, she was still fond of using her pen. She began to keep a diary, and she corresponded largely with a person who seems to have had the chief share in the formation of her mind. This was Samuel Crisp, an old friend of her father.

[This gentleman, having written an unsuccessful play, retired from the world in vexation and disgust; but he still kept up an intercourse with his old friends, the Burneys.]

To them alone was confided the name of the desolate old hall in which he hid himself, like a wild beast in a den. For them were reserved such remains of his humanity, as had survived the failure of his play. Frances Burney he regarded as his daughter. He called her his Fannikin, and she, in return, called him her dear daddy. In truth, he seems to have done much more than her real father for the development of her intellect; for though he was a bad poet, he was a scholar, a thinker, and an excellent counsellor. He was practically fond of Dr. Burney's concerts. They had, indeed, been commenced at his suggestion, and when he visited London, he constantly attended them. But when he grew old, and when gout, brought on partly by mental irritation, confined him to his retreat, he was desirous of having a glimpse of that gay and brilliant world from which he was exiled, and he pressed Fannikin to send him full accounts of her father's evening parties. A few of her letters to him have been published; and it is impossible to read them, without discerning in them all the powers which afterwards produced Evelina and Cecilia, the quickness in catching every odd peculiarity of character and manner, the skill in grouping, the humor, often richly comic, sometimes even farcical.

Fanny's propensity to novel-writing had for a time been kept down. It now rose up stronger than ever. The heroes and heroines of the tales which had perished in the flames, were still present to the eye of her mind. One favorite story, in particular, haunted her imagination. It was about a certain Caroline Evelyn, a beautiful damsel, who made an unfortunate love-match, and died, leaving an infant daughter. Frances began to imagine to herself the various scenes, tragic and comic, through which the poor, motherless girl, highly connected on one side, meanly connected on the other, might have to pass. A crowd of unreal beings, good and bad, grave and ludicrous, surrounded the pretty, timid, young orphan; a coarse sea-captain; an ugly, insolent fop, blazing in a superb court-dress; another fop, as ugly and as insolent, but lodged on Snow-hill, and tricked out in second-hand finery for the Hempstead ball; an old woman, all wrinkles and rouge, flirting her fan with the air of a Miss of seventeen, and screaming in a dialect made up of vulgar French and vulgar English; a poet, lean and ragged, with a broad Scotch accent. By degrees, these shadows acquired stronger and stronger consistence: the impulse which urged Frances to write became irresistible; and the result was, the history of Evelina.

Then came, naturally enough, a wish, mingled with many fears, to appear before the public; for, timid as Frances was, and bashful, and altogether unaccustomed to hear her own praises, it is clear that she wanted neither a strong passion for distinction, nor a just confidence in her own powers. Her scheme was to become, if possible, a candidate for fame, without running any risk of disgrace. She had not money to bear the expense of printing. It was therefore necessary that some bookseller should be induced to take the risk; and such a bookseller was not readily found. Dodsley refused even to look at the manuscript, unless he were trusted with the name of the author. A publisher in Fleet street, named Lowndes, was more complaisant. Some correspondence took place between this person and Miss Burney, who took the name of Grafton, and desired that the letters addressed to her might be left at the Orange coffee-house. But, before the bargain was finally struck, Fanny thought it her duty to obtain her father's consent. She told him that she had written a book, that she wished to have his permission to publish it anonymously, but that she hoped he would not insist upon seeing it. What followed may serve to illustrate what we meant when we said that Dr. Burney was as bad a father as so good-hearted a man could possibly be. It never seems to have crossed his mind that Fanny was about to take a step on which the whole happiness of her life might depend—a step which might raise her to an honorable eminence, or cover her with ridicule and contempt. Several people had already been trusted, and strict concealment was therefore not to be expected. On so grave an occasion, it was surely his duty to give his best counsel to his daughter, to win her confidence, to prevent her from exposing herself, if her book were a bad one, and, if it were a good one, to see that the terms which she made with the publisher, were likely to be beneficial to her. Instead of this, he only stared, burst out a laughing, kissed her, gave her leave to do as she liked, and never even asked the name of her work. The contract with Lowndes was speedily concluded. Twenty pounds were given for the copyright, and were accepted by Fanny with delight. Her father's inexcusable neglect of his duty, happily caused her no worse evil than the loss of twelve or fifteen hundred pounds.

After many delays, Evelina appeared in January, 1778. Poor Fanny was sick with terror, and durst hardly stir out of doors. Some days passed before anything was heard of the book. It had, indeed, nothing but its own merits to push it into public favor. Its author was unknown. The house by which it was published, was not, we believe, held in high estimation. No body of partisans had been engaged to applaud. The better class of readers expected little from a novel about a young lady's entrance into the world. There was, indeed, at that time a disposition among the most respectable people to condemn novels generally: nor was this disposition by any means without excuse; for work's of that sort were then almost always silly, and very frequently wicked.

Soon, however, the first faint accents of praise began to be heard. The keepers of the circulating libraries reported that everybody was asking for Evelina, and that some person had guessed Anstey to be the author. Then came a favorable notice in the London Review; then another still more favorable in the Monthly. And now the book found its way to tables which had seldom been polluted by marble-covered volumes. Scholars and statesmen, who contemptuously abandoned the crowd of romances to Miss Lydia Languish and Miss Sukey Saunter, were not ashamed to own that they could not tear themselves away from Evelina. Fine carriages and rich liveries, not often seen east of Temple bar, were attracted to the publisher's shop in Fleet street. Lowndes was daily questioned about the author; but was himself as much in the dark as any of the questioners. The mystery, however, could not remain a mystery long. It was known to brothers and sisters, aunts and cousins: and they were far too proud and too happy to be discreet. Dr. Burney wept over the book in rapture. Daddy Crisp shook his fist at his Fannikin in affectionate anger at not having been admitted to her confidence. The truth was whispered to Mrs. Thrale; and then it began to spread fast.

The triumph was complete. The timid and obscure girl found herself on the highest pinnacle of fame. Great men, on whom she had gazed at a distance with humble reverence, addressed her with admiration, tempered by the tenderness due to her sex and age. Burke, Windham, Gibbon, Reynolds, Sheridan, were among her most ardent eulogists. Cumberland acknowledged her merit, after his fashion, by biting his lips, and wrigling in his chair, whenever her name was mentioned. But it was at Streatham that she tasted, in the highest perfection, the sweets of flattery, mingled with the sweets of friendship. Mrs. Thrale, then at the height of prosperity and popularity—with gay spirits, quick wit, showy, though superficial acquirements, pleasing, though not refined manners, a singularly amiable temper, and a loving heart—felt towards Fanny as towards a younger sister. With the Thrales Johnson was domesticated. He was an old friend of Dr. Burney; but he had probably taken little notice of Dr. Burney's daughters, and Fanny, we imagine, had never in her life dared to speak to him, unless to ask whether he wanted a nineteenth or a twentieth cup of tea. He was charmed by her tale, and preferred it to the novels of Fielding, to whom, indeed, he had always been grossly unjust. He did not, indeed, carry his partiality so far as to place Evelina by the side of Clarissa and Sir Charles Grandison; yet he said that his little favorite had done enough to have made even Richardson feel uneasy. With Johnson's cordial approbation of the book, was mingled a fondness, half gallant, half paternal, for the writer; and this fondness his age and character entitled him to show without restraint. He began by putting her hand to his lips. But soon he clasped her in his huge arms, and implored her to be a good girl. She was his pet, his dear love, his dear little Burney, his little character-monger. At one time, he broke forth in praise of the good taste of her caps. At another time, he insisted on teaching her Latin. That, with all his coarseness and irritability, he was a man of sterling benevolence, has long been acknowledged. But how gentle and endearing his deportment could be, was not known till the "Recollections of Madame D'Arblay" were published.

It would not have been surprising if such success had turned even a strong head, and corrupted even a generous and affectionate nature. But, in the diary, we can find no trace of any feeling inconsistent with a truly modest and amiable disposition. There is, indeed, abundant proof that Frances enjoyed, with an intense, though a troubled joy, the honors which her genius had won; but it is equally clear, that her happiness sprang from the happiness of her father, her sister, and her dear Daddy Crisp. While flattered by the great, the opulent, and the learned, while followed along the Steyne at Brighton, and the Pantiles at Tunbridge Wells, by the gaze of admiring crowds, her heart seems to have been still with the little domestic circle in St. Martin's street. If she recorded with minute diligence all the compliments, delicate and coarse, which she heard wherever she turned, she recorded them for the eyes of two or three persons who had loved her from her infancy, who had loved her in obscurity, and to whom her fame gave the purest and most exquisite delight. Nothing can be more unjust, than to confound these outpourings of a kind heart, sure of perfect sympathy, with the egotism of a blue-stocking, who prates to all who come near her about her own novel, or her own volume of sonnets.

[In the midst of all this success, friendship, and domestic happiness, Miss Burney was unfortunately tempted to enslave herself.]

Among the distinguished persons to whom Miss Burney had been introduced, none appears to have stood higher in her regard than Mrs. Delany. This lady was an interesting and venerable relic of a past age. She was the niece of George Granville, (Lord Lansdowne,) who, in his youth, exchanged verses and compliments with Edmund Waller, and who was among the first to applaud the opening talents of Pope. She had married Dr. Delany, a man known to his cotemporaries as a profound scholar and an eloquent preacher, but remembered in our time chiefly as one of the small circle in which the fierce spirit of Swift, tortured by disappointed ambition, by remorse, and by the approaches of madness, sought for amusement and repose. Dr. Delany had long been dead. His widow, nobly descended, eminently accomplished, and retaining, in spite of the infirmities of advanced age, the vigor of her faculties and the serenity of her temper, enjoyed and deserved the favor of the royal family. She had a pension of three hundred a-year; and a house at Windsor, belonging to the crown, had been fitted up for her accommodation. At this house the king and queen sometimes called, and found a very natural pleasure in thus catching an occasional glimpse of the private life of English families.

In December, 1785, Miss Burney was on a visit to Mrs. Delany at Windsor. The dinner was over. The old lady was taking a nap. Her grand-niece, a little girl of seven, was playing at some Christmas game with the visitors, when the door opened, and a stout gentleman entered unannounced, with a star on his breast, and "What? what? what?" in his mouth. A cry of "The king," was set up. A general scampering followed. Miss Burney owns that she could not have been more terrified if she had seen a ghost. But Mrs. Delany came forward to pay her duty to her royal friend, and the disturbance was quieted. Frances was then presented, and underwent a long examination and cross-examination about all that she had written, and all that she meant to write. The queen soon made her appearance, and his majesty repeated, for the benefit of his consort, the information which he had extracted from Miss Burney. The good-nature of the royal pair might have softened even the authors of the Probationary Odes, and could not but be delightful to a young lady who had been brought up a tory. In a few days the visit was repeated. Miss Burney was more at ease than before. His majesty, instead of seeking for information, condescended to impart it, and passed sentence on many great writers, English and foreign. Voltaire he pronounced a monster. Rousseau he liked rather better. "But was there ever," he cried, "such stuff as great part of Shakspeare? Only one must not say so. But what think you? What? Is there not sad stuff? What? what?"

The next day Frances enjoyed the privilege of listening to some equally valuable criticism, uttered by the queen, touching Goethe and Klopstock, and might have learned an important lesson of economy from the mode in which her majesty's library had been formed. "I picked the book up on a stall," said the queen. "Oh, it is amazing what good books there are on stalls!" Mrs. Delany, who seems to have understood, from these words, that her majesty was in the habit of exploring the booths of Moorsfield and Holywell street, in person, could not suppress an exclamation of surprise. "Why," said the queen, "I don't pick them up myself. But I have a servant very clever; and, if they are not to be had at the booksellers, they are not for me more than for another." Miss Burney describes this conversation as delightful; and, indeed, we cannot wonder that, with her literary taste, she should be delighted at hearing in how magnificent a manner the greatest lady in the land encouraged literature.

The truth is, that Frances was fascinated by the condescending kindness of the two great personages to whom she had been presented. Her father was even more infatuated than herself. The result was a step of which we cannot think with patience, but which, recorded as it is, with all its consequences, in these volumes, deserves at least this praise, that it has furnished a most impressive warning.

A German lady, of the name of Haggerdorn, one of the keepers of the queen's robes, retired about this time; and her majesty offered the vacant post to Miss Burney. When we consider that Miss Burney was decidedly the most popular writer of fictitious narrative then living, that competence, if not opulence, was within her reach, and that she was more than usually happy in her domestic circle; and when we compare the sacrifice which she was invited to make with the remuneration which was held out to her, we are divided between laughter and indignation.

What was demanded of her was, that she should consent to be almost as completely separated from her family and friends as if she had gone to Calcutta, and almost as close a prisoner as if she had been sent to jail for a libel; that with talents which had instructed and delighted the highest living minds, she should now be employed only in mixing snuff, and sticking pins; that she should be summoned by a waiting-woman's bell to a waiting-woman's duties; that she should pass her whole life under the restraints of a paltry etiquette, should sometimes fast till she was ready to swoon with hunger, should sometimes stand till her knees gave way with fatigue; that she should not dare to speak or move without considering how her mistress might like her words and gestures. Instead of those distinguished men and women, the flower of all political parties, with whom she had been in the habit of mixing on terms of equal friendship, she was to have for her perpetual companion the chief keeper of the robes, an old hag from Germany, of mean understanding, of insolent manners, and of temper which, naturally savage, had now been exasperated by disease. Now and then, indeed, poor Frances might console herself for the loss of Burke's and Windham's society, by joining in the "celestial colloquy sublime" of his majesty's equeries.

And what was the consideration for which she was to sell herself into slavery? A peerage in her own right? A pension of two thousand a-year for life? A seventy-four for her brother in the navy? A deanery for her brother in the church? Not so. The price at which she was valued was her board, her lodging, the attendance of a man-servant, and two hundred pounds a-year.

With what object their majesties brought her to their palace, we must own ourselves unable to conceive. Their object could not be to encourage her literary exertions; for they took her from a situation in which it was almost certain she would write, and put her into a situation in which it was impossible for her to write. Their object could not be to promote her pecuniary interest; for they took her from a situation where she was likely to become rich, and put her into a situation in which she could not but continue poor. Their object could not be to obtain an eminently useful waiting-maid; for it is clear that, though Miss Burney was the only woman of her time who could have described the death of Harrel, thousands might have been found more expert in tying ribands, and filling snuff-boxes. To grant her a pension on the civil list would have been an act of judicious liberality, honorable to the court. If this was impracticable, the next best thing was to let her alone. That the king and queen meant her nothing but kindness, we do not in the least doubt. But their kindness was the kindness of persons raised high above the mass of mankind, accustomed to be addressed with profound deference, accustomed to see all who approach them, modified by their coldness, and elated by their smiles. They fancied that to be noticed by them, to be near them, to serve them, was in itself a kind of happiness; and that Frances Burney ought to be full of gratitude for being permitted to purchase, by the surrender of health, wealth, freedom, domestic affection, and literary fame, the privilege of standing behind a royal chair, and holding a pair of royal gloves.

It is not strange, indeed, that an invitation to court should have caused a fluttering in the bosom of an inexperienced woman. But it was the duty of the parent to watch over the child, and to show her that on the one side were only infantine vanities and chimerical hopes, on the other, liberty, peace of mind, affluence, social enjoyments, honorable distinctions. Strange to say, the only hesitation was on the part of Frances. Dr. Burney was transported out of himself with delight. Not such are the raptures of a Circassian father who has sold his pretty daughter well to a Turkish slave-merchant. Yet Dr. Burney was an amiable man, a man of good abilities, a man who had seen much of the world. But he seems to have thought, that going to court was like going to heaven: that to see princes and princesses, was a kind of beatific vision; that the exquisite felicity enjoyed by royal persons was not confined to themselves, but was communicated by some mysterious efflux or reflection to all who were suffered to stand at their toilettes, or to bear their trains. He overruled all his daughter's objections, and himself escorted her to her prison. The door closed. The key was turned. She, looking back with tender regret on all that she had left, and forward with anxiety and terror to the new life on which she was entering, was unable to speak or stand; and he went on his way homeward rejoicing in her marvellous prosperity.

And now began a slavery of five years, of five years taken from the best part of life, and wasted in menial drudgery, or in recreations duller than even menial drudgery, under galling restraints, and amidst unfriendly or uninteresting companions. The history of an ordinary day was this: Miss Burney had to rise and dress herself early, that she might be ready to answer the royal bell, which rang at half-after-seven. Till about eight she attended in the queen's dressing-room, and had the honor of lacing her august mistress's stays, and of putting on the hoop, gown, and neckerchief. The morning was chiefly spent in rummaging drawers, and laying fine clothes in their proper places. Then the queen was to be powdered and dressed for the day. Twice a week her majesty's hair was curled and craped; and this operation appears to have added a full hour to the business of the toilette. It was generally three before Miss Burney was at liberty. Then she had two hours at her own disposal. To these hours, we owe great part of her diary. At five she had to attend her colleague, Madame Schwellenberg, a hateful old toad-eater, as illiterate as a chambermaid, as proud as a whole German chapter, rude, peevish, unable to bear solitude, unable to conduct herself with common decency in society. With this delightful associate, Frances Burney had to dine, and pass the evening. The pair generally remained together from five to eleven; and often had no other company the whole time, except during the hour from eight to nine when the equeries came to tea. If poor Frances attempted to escape to her own apartment, and to forget her wretchedness over a book, the execrable old woman railed and stormed, and complained that she was neglected. Yet, when Frances stayed, she was constantly assailed with insolent reproaches. Literary fame was, in the eyes of the German crone, a blemish, a proof that the person who enjoyed it was meanly born, and out of the pale of good society. All her scanty stock of broken English was employed to express the contempt with which she regarded the author of Evelina and Cecilia. Frances detested cards, and indeed knew nothing about them; but she soon found that the least miserable way of passing an evening with Madame Schwellenberg, was at the card-table, and consented, with patient sadness, to give hours, which might have called forth the laughter and the tears of many generations, to the king of clubs and the knave of spades. Between eleven and twelve the bell rang again. Miss Burney had to pass twenty minutes or half an hour in undressing the queen, and was then at liberty to retire, and dream that she was chatting with her brother by the quiet hearth in St. Martin's street, that she was the centre of an admiring assembly at Mrs. Crewe's, that Burke was calling her the first woman of the age, or that Dilly was giving her a check for two thousand guineas.

Men, we suppose, are less patient than women; for we are utterly at a loss to conceive how any human being could endure such a life, while there remained a vacant garret in Grub street, a crossing in want of a sweeper, a parish workhouse, or a parish vault. And it was for such a life that Frances Burney had given up liberty and peace, a happy fireside, attached friends, a wide and splendid circle of acquaintance, intellectual pursuits in which she was qualified to excel, and the sure hope of what to her would have been affluence.

[Under the burden of this intolerable existence, health as well as spirits began to give way. After five year's service, poor Frances was so weak as hardly to be able to stand; yet she was still obliged to rise before seven, and sit up till midnight, to dress and undress her royal mistress.]

Many strangers sympathized with the bodily and mental sufferings of this distinguished woman. All who saw her, saw that her frame was sinking, that her heart was breaking. The last, it should seem, to observe the change was her father. At length, in spite of himself, his eyes were opened. In May, 1790, his daughter had an interview of three hours with him, the only long interview which they had had since he took her to Windsor, in 1786. She told him that she was miserable, that she was worn with attendance and want of sleep, that she had no comfort in life, nothing to love, nothing to hope, that her family and friends were to her as though they were not, and were remembered by her as men remember the dead. From daybreak to midnight the same killing labor, the same recreations, more hateful than labor itself, followed each other without variety, without any interval of liberty and repose.

[Her father was distressed, but such was his veneration for royalty, that he could not bear to withdraw her from court. She lingered along six months longer; and though the alternative was then speedy death, or a chance for leisure, air, and exercise, the queen was extremely offended with her for presuming to resign her office. At last, however, she obtained liberty to do so, on an annuity of one hundred pounds a year.

Quiet, and cheerful influences, gradually restored her health. She was again surrounded by people of talent and distinction. Among these were many of the illustrious French exiles, with which England then swarmed.]

Such a woman as Miss Burney could not long resist the fascinations of that remarkable society. She had lived with Johnson and Windham, with Mrs. Montague and Mrs. Thrale. Yet she was forced to own that she had never heard conversation before. The most animated eloquence, the keenest observation, the most sparkling wit, the most courtly grace, were united to charm her. For Madame de Staël was there, and M. de Talleyrand. There, too, was M. de Narbonne, a noble representative of French aristocracy; and with M. de Narbonne, was his friend and follower, General D'Arblay, an honorable and amiable man, with a handsome person, frank, soldier-like manners, and some taste for letters.

The prejudices which Frances had conceived against the constitutional royalists of France rapidly vanished. She listened with rapture to Talleyrand and Madame de Staël, joined with M. D'Arblay in execrating the Jacobins, and in weeping for the unhappy Bourbons, took French lessons from him, fell in love with him, and married him on no better provision than a precarious annuity of one hundred pounds.

[She died but lately, at an advanced age, and her diary and letters have recently been published.]

PRICE OF AN OPINION.

In a cold night in November, in the year 1825, a man, enveloped in a large cloak, rapped at the door of one of the most distinguished advocates of Paris. He was quickly shown to the chamber of the learned lawyer.

"Sir," he said, placing upon the table a large parcel of papers, "I am rich, but the suit that has been instituted against me this day, will entirely ruin me. At my age, a fortune is not to be rebuilt; so that the loss of my suit will condemn me forever to the most frightful misery. I come to ask the aid of your talents. Here are the papers; as to the facts, I will, if you please, expose them clearly to you."

The advocate listened attentively to the stranger, then opened the parcel, examined all the papers it contained, and said, "Sir, the action laid against you is founded in justice and morality; unfortunately, in the admirable perfection of our codes, law does not always accord with justice, and here the law is for you. If, therefore, you rest strictly upon the law, and avail yourself, without exception, of all the means in your favor—if, above all, these means are exposed with clearness, and force, you will infallibly gain your suit, and nobody can afterwards dispute that fortune that you fear to lose."

"Nobody in the world," replied the client, "is so competent to do this as yourself; an opinion drawn up in this sense, and signed by you, would render one invulnerable. I am bold enough to hope that you will not refuse me."

The skillful advocate reflected some moments, taking up again the papers that he had pushed away with an abrubtness peculiar to him, said that he would draw up the opinion, and that it would be finished the following day at the same hour.

The client was punctual to his appointment. The advocate presented him with the opinion, and without taking the trouble to reply to the thanks with which the other overwhelmed him, said to him rudely—

"Here is the opinion; there is no judge who, after having seen that, will condemn you.—Give me 3,000 francs."

The client was struck dumb and motionless with surprise.

"You are free to keep your money," said the advocate, "as I am to throw the opinion into the fire."

So speaking, he advanced toward the chimney, but the other stopped him, and declared that he would pay the sum demanded; but he had only half of it with him.

He drew, in fact, from his pocket-book, 1,500 francs, in bank notes. The advocate with one hand took the notes, and with the other threw the opinion into a drawer.

"But," said the client, "I am going, if you please, to give you my note for the remainder."

"I want money. Bring me 1,500 francs, or you shall not have one line."

There was no remedy; the 3,000 francs were paid. But the client, to avenge himself for being so pillaged, hastened to circulate this anecdote; it got into the papers, and for a fortnight there was a deluge of witticisms of all kinds upon the disinterestedness of the great advocate. Those who didn't laugh at it, said it was deplorable that a man of such merit should be tainted with a vice so degrading as avarice. Even his friends were moved by it, and some of them went so far as to remonstrate with him publicly; but the only reply he made was by shrugging his shoulders, and then, as everything is quickly forgot at Paris, people soon ceased to talk of this.

Ten years had passed. One day the court of cassation, in its red robes, was descending the steps of the palace of justice to be present at a public ceremony. All at once a woman darts from the crowd, throws herself at the feet of the procureur general, seizes the end of his robe, and pressed it to her lips. The woman was looked upon as deranged, and they tried to drag her away.

"Oh, leave me alone, leave me alone," she cried; "I recognize him—it is he—my preserver! Thanks to him, I have been able to bring up my large family. Thanks to him, my old age is happy. Oh, you do not know, you—one day—I was very unhappy then—I was advised to bring an action against a distant relation of my late husband, who, it was said, had possessed himself of a rich heritage that ought to have come to my children. Already I had sold half of my property to commence the action, when one evening, I saw enter my house a gentleman, who said to me, "Do not go to law; reason and morality are for you, but the law is against you. Keep the little you have, and add to it these 3,000 francs, which are truly yours." I remained speechless with surprise, when I would have spoken and thanked him, he had disappeared; but the bag of money was there, upon my table, and the countenance of that generous man was engraven upon my heart, never to be erased. This man—this preserver of my family—is here! Let me thank him before God and before man!"

The court had stopped. The procureur general appeared moved, but conquering his emotions, he said—

"Take away this good woman, and take care that no harm comes to her—